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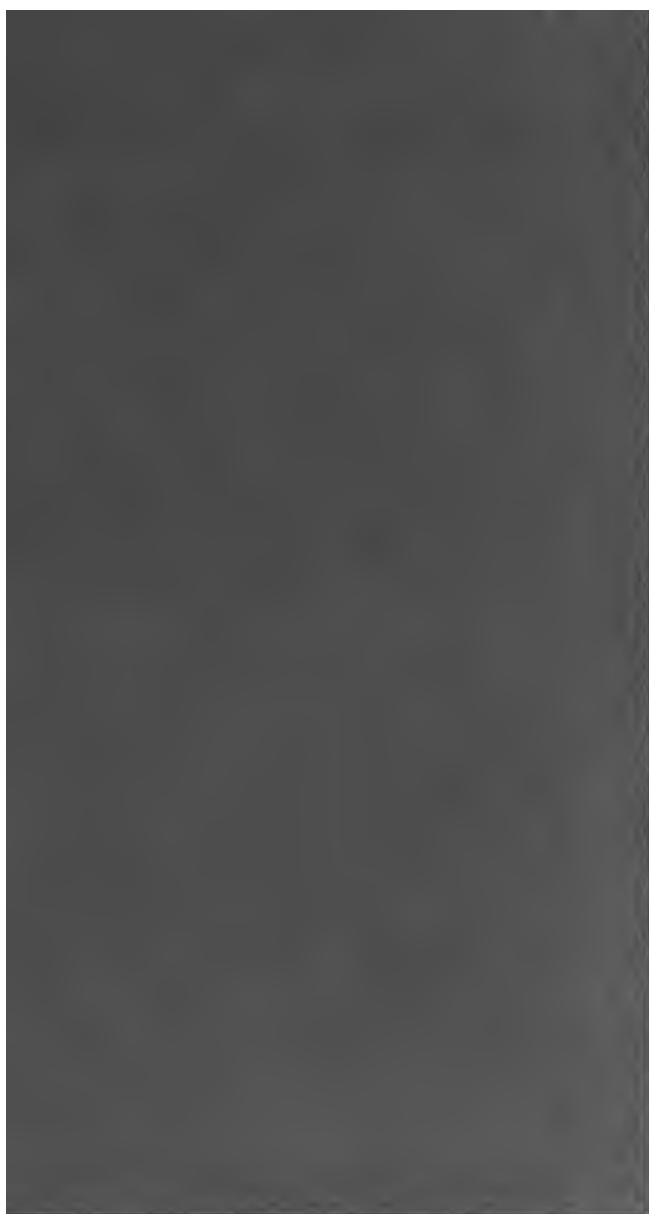


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THE HISTORY  
OF INFANT-BAPTISM.

BY

WILLIAM WALL, M.A.

VICAR OF SHOREHAM, KENT, AND OF MILTON NEXT GRAVESEND.

TOGETHER WITH

MR. GALE'S REFLECTIONS,

AND

DR. WALL'S DEFENCE.

---

SECOND EDITION,

BY THE REV. HENRY COTTON, D.C.L.

LATE STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH.

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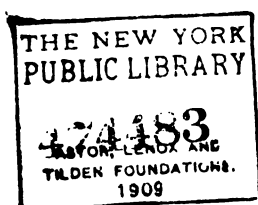
REFLECTIONS  
—  
ON  
MR. WALLIS'S HISTORY  
—  
OF  
INFANT-BAPTISM.

—  
IN SEVERAL LETTERS TO A FRIEND  
—

Teach me, and I will hold my tongue: and make me to understand  
whom I have served.

How forcible are right words! but what doth your opposing report?

Jer. vi. 24. 25.



ROY WIL  
CLUB  
V87

**REFLECTIONS**  
**ON**  
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**IN SEVERAL LETTERS TO A FRIEND.**

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Teach me, and I will hold my tongue : and cause me to understand  
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How forcible are right words ! but what doth your arguing reprove ?

JOS vi. 24, 25.





## ADVERTISEMENT.

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THERE would have been no need to tell the reader that the following letters were written in the years 1705, 1706<sup>a</sup>; but that, there having been two editions of Mr. Wall's History<sup>b</sup>, he might see the reason why the first of these is made use of, and constantly referred to.

And as these letters were originally designed for the private perusal of a friend, so it is not to be thought strange that they were not published sooner, but rather that they are published at all; for the author, though he was urged to it pretty early, had no thought nor inclination, in the least, to have given the public this trouble. He hoped a more learned advocate would have been engaged in this controversy<sup>c</sup>; but it seems that gentleman did not think it necessary, since Mr. Wall had not pretended to reply to his 'Answer to Mr. Russen;' and had also been convinced by him in private conversation, that he was mistaken in charging him with a misrepresentation of a passage out of Dr.

<sup>a</sup> [Probably Mr. Gale ought to have added 1707: since, in the beginning of letter VI, he makes mention of the union with *Scotland* as *completed*, a transaction which did not take place till that year.]

<sup>b</sup> [The first edition appeared in 1705: the second, in 1707: the third, in 1720. Mr. Gale could not have seen this *last*, as his work was published in the year 1711.]

<sup>c</sup> [Mr. J. Stennet seems to be the person intended; his 'Answer to Russen' was published in 1704. The Bodleian Library contains a copy of it, formerly belonging to Dr. Wall, and filled with his MS. remarks, the substance of which appears to have been afterwards incorporated into his 'History.']

Allix's 'Remarks on the Ancient Church of Piedmont,' which he promised to rectify, together with some other inadvertencies, in his second edition.

It not being known therefore that a direct answer to Mr. Wall's book was designed by any other hand, the author's friends represented to him how much the pædobaptists on all occasions boasted of that supposed unanswerable performance, which has indeed been highly recommended and extolled by the most learned among them, and by some in print.

Mr. Reeves, speaking of the history of Pelagius, says, 'It is treated of by Dr. Forbes, Dupin, and especially by the learned Mr. Wall, in his excellent account of infant-baptism; which last I particularly recommend to the English reader<sup>c</sup>.'

Dr. Stanhope, speaking of the pretended Jewish baptism, says, 'It is set in a very clear light by the late excellent labours of a worthy and learned divine<sup>d</sup>,' referring to Mr. Wall of infant-baptism, in the margin.

And above all, the whole clergy in Convocation have in a particular manner approved and commended the book, in the following vote passed soon after the publication of it, to shew how very acceptable it was to them.

Feb. 9, 1705-6. 'Ordered, That the thanks of this House be given to Mr. Wall, vicar of Shoreham in Kent, for the learned and excellent book he hath lately written concerning infant-baptism; and that Dr. B. and Mr. R.<sup>e</sup> do acquaint him with the same.'

Nay, Dr. Atterbury, the reputed author of 'The Proceedings in the Convocation, A. D. 1705, faithfully represented,' says, 'The history of infant-baptism was a book

<sup>c</sup> Apologies, vol. ii. p. 357, note.

<sup>d</sup> Paraphrase, &c. on the Epistles, &c. vol. iv. p. 340.

<sup>e</sup> The two proctors for the diocese [of Rochester, viz. Dr. Fr. Durant de Breval, and Mr. Samuel Rhodes.]

‘ for which the author deserved the thanks, not of the English clergy alone, but of *all Christian churches*.’

These things, together with the importunity of the author’s friends, did at length prevail with him to suffer the publication of the following reflections : to inform the public, that the anabaptists, as they are called, notwithstanding the noise Mr. Wall’s history has made, and the reputation it has gained, are still safe and untouched by him ; and likewise to let these learned gentlemen know, that they have been much too hasty in their judgment, and that this history is not by far what they take it to be.

The Catalogue of Authors added at the end of these letters, was drawn up with a design to have set down what editions are made use of, in order to prevent any mistake that might otherwise happen ; which is done with regard to the authors of greatest consequence in the dispute ; but all the books could not be conveniently come at just when the last sheet was to be printed ; and therefore the editions are not always noted, which the reader is desired to excuse. The author however promises to be answerable for all his citations, which are none of them taken at second-hand ; and if any are sought for in one edition, and not found, they may be met with in another.



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sacrifice ; as the *Recognitions*, p. 399. Or of the washings for pollutions, as the *Apostolical Constitutions* pretend, p. 400. And Mr. Hill speaks to this purpose, *ibid.* Others more commonly say it succeeds in the place of circumcision, *ibid.* The conclusion from these observations, p. 401. Though the Jews could be proved to have baptized their proselytes, this does no service to the cause of *pædobaptism*, *ibid.* For, 1. It does not appear that infants were admitted, p. 402. 2. If the Jews had such a baptism as is pretended, it is no rule to Christians; otherwise the Socinians, &c. have a good handle to lay aside the use of baptism, *ibid.* And there is no manner of analogy between the Jewish and the Christian *pædobaptism*, p. 403. 3. We need only go back to the baptism of St. John ; which there is more reason to think was the pattern of Christ's than a Jewish ceremony, p. 404. St. John, Christ, and his apostles baptized no infants, p. 405. A passage of Josephus to this purpose, *ibid.* Another from Origen, p. 406. Another of St. Paul, p. 407. 4. At best this supposed baptism of the Jews is only a traditionary ceremony from the rabbins, *ibid.* The quoting texts for it no proof of its divine institution, p. 408. The rabbins do not pretend to find an initiatory baptism in the Scriptures, *ibid.* But confess it is only a tradition of their elders, *ibid.* This proved from the words of the Talmud, p. 409. Which are explained by some rules of Maimonides, *ibid.* *Exod.* xix. 10. cited only by way of accommodation, p. 412. It is therefore great presumption to draw a rabbinical tradition into a precedent for the Christian church, p. 413. These things applied to the present dispute, *ibid.* The conclusion, *ibid.*

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makes nothing for infant-baptism, p. 480. The first reason makes against him, *ibid.* His next reason, that regeneration is put for baptism, groundless, p. 481. St. Justin never understands regeneration so, *ibid.* Baptism not regeneration, but the symbol of it, *ibid.* The third reason contradicts his former assertion, p. 482. Another passage from St. Justin, *ibid.* Which Mr. Wall draws to his side by a very unfair translation, p. 485. *Ἐκ παιδων* signifies *from their childhood*, *ibid.* Illustrated by instances from Cicero, *ibid.* From Laertius, *ibid.* From Plato, p. 486. From Plutarch, *ibid.* From Origen, *ibid.* From Theophilus Antiochenus, *ibid.* From the Scriptures, p. 487. Mr. Wall himself translates a passage of St. Basil thus on another occasion, *ibid.* The famous passage from St. Irenæus considered, p. 488. It is not genuine, p. 489. Cardinal Baronius observes, the latter part of the chapter contradicts the beginning, *ibid.* Petavius' answer to this proves nothing, *ibid.* The author of the last part of the chapter attempts to confirm a manifest falsehood, by the authority of the ancients from St. John, which St. Irenæus could never have done, p. 491. Mr. Dodwell's pretence, that St. John, &c. judged of our Lord's age by his countenance, too weak, and groundless, *ibid.* They could not but know the time of our Lord's birth more exactly, *ibid.* St. Irenæus could not think Christ arrived to near so much as his fortieth year; the contrary being so evident from the censual rolls then in being, and from the disputes with the adversaries of the Christian religion, p. 492. Nay, it appears from St. Irenæus' own words, that he was not in so gross an error, p. 495. He fixes the time of the Lord's birth, *ibid.* The time of his passion computed; from the time of Pontius Pilate's government, and Tiberius' reign, *ibid.* From the destruction of Jerusalem, &c. p. 496. Mr. Dodwell's attempt to excuse the extravagance of this spurious passage, wholly useless, p. 499. Besides, the passage is taken only from a very bad translation, as learned men confess, *viz.* Scaliger, p. 500. Du Pin, p. 501. Mr. Dodwell, *ibid.* Dr. Grabe, *ibid.* This may also appear, by comparing it with the remaining fragments of the original, *ibid.* Again, the word *regenerated* in this passage does not mean baptized, p. 504. The Jews did not give rise to this way of speaking, p. 505. The Scripture notion of regeneration, p. 506. John iii. 5. considered, p. 507. The regeneration there mentioned consists in the operations of the Spirit, of which baptism

and the popish notion of transubstantiation, p. 571. When John iii. 5. was understood to relate to infants, as well as others, no wonder infants were baptized, p. 572. Upon just such another mistake of our Saviour's words in John vi. 53. the earliest pædobaptists admitted children to the Lord's supper, p. 573. Conclusion, *ibid.*

# REFLECTIONS

ON

MR. WALL'S HISTORY

OF

INFANT-BAPTISM.

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## LETTER I.

HEATS among Christians inconsistent with their profession, and a great dishonour to Christianity—This reflection occasioned by a letter the author received, very unbecoming the character of his friend that sent it—The author endeavours to find an excuse for his friend—We are generally more subject to passion in matters of religion, than in other things—His friend's great respect to the power of the Church of England, which he thinks to be the best constituted national church in the world, some sort of excuse for him—We have no infallible judge on earth—Nothing can excuse unreasonable excesses of any kind—Hard names, &c., no real prejudice to our cause—Mr. Wall's moderation only pretended—The antipædobaptists hearty friends to the present government—Those who make the greatest outcries of the church's danger, known to be her greatest enemies—Persecution for religion directly contrary to our Saviour's doctrine and example—Arguments from Scripture the proper means to convince men—The antipædobaptists open to instruction—Mr. Wall's history not so formidable as is pretended—He is not much to be depended on—His real aim and design was only to establish the baptism of infants; as appears by considering his pretence from Justin Martyr—Another from St. Cyprian—Another



from the Apostolical Constitutions—He takes all occasions to blacken the antipædobaptists; disguising his designs with pretences to moderation—This charge not inconsistent with charity—Learned men are best able to judge of matters—Mr. Wall endeavours to possess his readers with an opinion of his learning, by several needless digressions, on the Decretal Epistles: on the history of Pelagianism; and, in this, on the lawfulness of oaths, and possessing riches: on the virginity of our Lord's mother: on the Socinians, and the tritheism they charge on the Fathers—This a subject too difficult for Mr. Wall—His ridiculous reflection on Mr. Stennett noted—Another artifice to gain reputation, by quarrelling with several of the greatest men for learning, &c.: as archbishop Tillotson, bishop Burnet, Rigaltius, Gregory Nazianzen, father and son, St. Chrysostom, Mr. Le Clerc—Difference in opinion no warrant to dispense with the rules of charity—Moral virtues more acceptable to God than speculative notions—Mr. Le Clerc no Arian, Photinian, or Socinian—Mr. Wall also quarrels with Grotius—The sense of a passage in St. Gregory set right, which Mr. Wall had misrepresented—The sense of a canon of the Neocæsarean council rescued from the force Mr. Wall put upon it: as also, the words of Zonaras and Balsamon, in relation thereto—St. Austin and Pelagius speak of the end, not of the subjects of baptism—He that takes so much liberty with such men, will take more, in all probability, with the antipædobaptists—Mr. Wall has not acted the part of a faithful historian towards us—He several times, on no ground at all, takes for granted some things, merely because they favour his design—And charges the antipædobaptists with whatever he has heard any one among them to have believed or said.

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SIR,

ONE would think it impossible, when we consider the perfect charity and moderation which Christianity every where recommends, to find its professors so overcome with bitterness and heat. It is a great reflection on our holy religion, and

nothing hardly can expose it to jest and banter more than these animosities and violent divisions, which reign among those who make the highest pretences of affection to it; who after having magnified it to others, and endeavoured to convince them of its excellence and truth, so foully contradict its piety and goodness in their actions, which are so directly opposite to that divine Spirit which breathed it forth: which discovers they have no such great opinion of it themselves, and gives the enemies of our faith but too much colour to cry it down as an imposture, and an invention of state, to frighten children and fools into subjection and slavery. Rage and fury are inconsistent with Christianity; and where these govern, that can find no place: for, what agreement can there be between a persecuting temper, and the peaceful Spirit of Christ our Lord? *What communion hath light with darkness? What concord hath Christ with Belial?* &c. 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15. And accordingly it is to be observed, no party encourages this fiery zeal so much, as the most antichristian of all churches, viz. that of Rome.

You will easily apprehend, sir, the occasion of these *Reflections*; for, give me leave to tell you, nothing could be more unbecoming your character, either as a Christian or a learned man, than the letter you sent me. I should never have expected it from one of but tolerable sense and candour; and much less from you, who are a person of uncommon abilities, and a liberal education.

I cannot tell how to express the surprise I was in, that you, of all my friends, should dip your pen so deep in gall, and treat us with so much seeming ill-nature; and I was the more concerned, because

I could think of nothing which might excuse you. It is, indeed, what I never observed in you before, during our long acquaintance; but this only increases the present wonder: and I cannot imagine what provocation you had to it now, unless, perhaps, something extraordinary had chafed you; and turning your thoughts, in the commotion, upon the unhappy difference between us, you were betrayed into this warmth unawares.

And it is our misfortune, indeed, that in matters of religion, where we should shew the least, we generally have the greatest passion: here our nature is more apt to take fire; and we think it justifiable too, or rather our duty; cheating ourselves with false pretences to a zeal for God and religion: for all things that are comprehended under that venerable name, justly make a deep impression on our souls, and touch their most sensible part. From these considerations, I should be glad to frame an excuse for you; and to give it the greater weight, I add further on your behalf, that not being a divine, you have not made it your business to examine the controversy thoroughly, but have taken it on trust from the clergy, as I fear they do too often from one another.

This, I own, is but an indifferent plea; yet I am willing it should pass with myself, for I would fain find something which might be stretched into an excuse for a person I so much esteem. And, indeed, to one that knows you, it will not seem altogether unlikely that this was the cause. The deference and respect you pay to the Church of England, and its governors and customs, is undoubtedly very commendable, and no small argument of a devout mind:

especially considering how much you are persuaded that Christ has left many things, even all that are indifferent, in the church's power; and that therefore all ought to obey, and entirely submit to that power and authority, with which it is thus by him invested. And as to the Church of England in particular, I know you look upon her to be, by far, the purest and best constituted national church in the world, and very conformable to the primitive pattern, both in respect to the holiness of her doctrines and the usefulness of her discipline, as established in the canons and constitutions of the church: and that she eminently enjoys what is made a distinguishing character by Christ himself, in that she preserves an extensive charity; and is in her nature an utter stranger, let some of her pretended sons be what they will, to those tyrannical principles, which are the support of her antichristian neighbours: and all the world owns, none can boast of a more learned clergy, to maintain the interest of our most holy religion. Now these things are, doubtless, enough to create a just veneration in you for the authority and judgment of such guides; and therefore I do not wonder that you apply to them the apostle's awful charge, 1 Cor. iv. 1, *Let a man so account of them, as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God.*

I am solicitous, you see, sir, to excuse the fault I think you have committed; and have set down my thoughts just as they came to mind, that you may perceive, by their disorder, how much I am concerned. But after all, I must observe, that having no infallible judge on earth, we are not blindly to prostitute our consciences to the dictates of any

power whatever, but have an undisputed right to that *liberty wherewith Christ has made us free*.

It is an displeasing reflection, because it so much weakens the force of what I have been contriving in your excuse: but still I cannot forbear thinking, that nothing will by any means justify a rash unchristian conduct. Religion, which is the highest reason, can be no excuse for unreasonable excesses of any kind; and therefore whoever engages in the defence of a party with the usual violence, you may be satisfied, and may take it for a general rule, has not his zeal from religion, but something which lies at bottom, of a quite contrary nature. And this your own experience must needs have confirmed to you.

However, if through the misrepresentations of others, you are persuaded to think so ill of us, and believe you have treated us as well, or it may be better than we deserve; I only beg you would let me know the reasons on which this ill opinion of us is grounded, and I will promise impartially to consider them: and if they have any weight, I will ingenuously acknowledge it, and give up my cause. But till I can see something more conclusive than what Mr. Wall, or any else I have yet met with, have offered, I must desire you will allow me to continue my separation from the national church, and religiously adhere to that more despised one, of which, I hope, I shall never be ashamed or afraid to own myself a member.

We are very little moved at the reflections and hard names you bestow on us, whatever force you may think there is in them. 'Conceited sectaries' and 'obstinate heretics' are old calumnies. St. Paul

himself did not escape them, and has taught us to confess, that *after the way which some call heresy, so worship we the God of our fathers*, Acts xxiv. 14. It is no real prejudice to our cause that it is ridiculed, and the conscientious professors of it vilified and abused. Christ and his whole doctrine, while he was on earth, and a long time after, was not better treated; and his great example, we thank God, has encouraged us to endure all manner of reproaches for his sake with patience: we know, and he bid us remember it in the times of trouble, that we who are servants, are not greater than our Lord and Master. We can never forget with how much contempt he was treated, who with wonderful patience endured whatever the malice of devils and wicked men could invent; and it is our constant prayer, that, imitating his greatness of soul, we also may *bless them who curse us, and pray for them who despitefully use us*. To suffer after him is no dishonour, but having his great example always before our eyes, we should rather rejoice, as he has encouraged us to do, when we are persecuted for his sake; for he has assured us, and we humbly trust to him to see it performed, that *if we are reviled for his sake, our reward shall be great in heaven*.

The main ground of difference between us, in my opinion, sir, is the case of baptism; but how some men can improve this to justify their traducing us as dangerous enemies to the state, I am not clear-sighted enough to discern. It is true, you do not charge us with this; but yet give me leave here to observe, that a great many do, and propagate the opinion all they can: and the author you so much admire, by his inserting, among other things, the

scandalous story of Mr. Hicks<sup>a</sup>, which himself can scarce forbear confessing to be false, gives me reason to fear he is of the same mind too, though he endeavours to conceal it. And though he has pretty well imitated the moderation and candour he so much pretends to, he fully discovers, at some turns, that these are only pretences: witness his asserting<sup>b</sup>, that the forbearance the states of Holland allow, and which he mischievously insinuates is, 'outdone 'by another nation, is the most contrary to the nature and design of Christianity, of any thing that 'could be devised.' Witness also his quotation from Dr. Featly<sup>c</sup>, who was certainly the most railing adversary in the world, and urged the words of the parable, *Compel them to come in*, as strongly as the hottest convertist in France. And Mr. Wall has such an esteem for the doctor's principles, that in one short paragraph he cites him three times for 'setting forth the mischiefs of a toleration in any 'state,' without adding one reason for it but the doctor's *ipse dixit*: and says, 'the observation the 'doctor made upon the first toleration that had ever 'been in England, the experience of all times since 'following has shewn to be a just one.' Why did not our author at once set himself to justify more directly the French king's acting in relation to our distressed protestant brethren, who so miserably groan under his most barbarous oppression? For Dr. Featly's principles are evidently the same with those of the French convertists.

<sup>a</sup> Part ii. p. 216. [323.]

<sup>b</sup> Part ii. p. 388. [of the first edition: but the passage was omitted from both the second and the third.]

<sup>c</sup> Part ii p. 213, 214. [316.]

It is therefore more than a presumption that our author's charity and moderation are still the very same as when he took so much care to perform his part with those who were endeavouring to plunder and root out the anabaptists in his neighbourhood. But whatever he may think of that matter now, there will come a time when it will be but an unpleasing reflection to him. And though he, and others like him, may strive to blacken us, by their false reports and innuendos, we are at present happy in a gracious queen<sup>d</sup>, who is not to be imposed on by these artifices against us: she is sensible we are as hearty as any of her subjects, and as ready, with the utmost hazard of our lives and fortunes, to support the crown and dignity she justly enjoys, and so highly adorns. And if I know the antipædobaptists, as I think I do, I speak from my conscience, and in God's presence, I am satisfied there are not truer friends to the government, that will do more for it, according to their abilities, in the three kingdoms. It is known they acknowledge her majesty's tenderness and care of the common interest very gratefully, and make her the best return a body of private men can do, by devoutly praying for her preservation in their public assemblies.

But it seems we have the unhappiness to differ from the church in several things, which is handle enough for some persons to cry mightily against us. Perhaps they imagine, violent, noisy pretences to zeal for the church will recommend them to ecclesiastical preferments, notwithstanding, in reality, the church is the least of their concern; and after all, it may sadly be observed, that piety and true religion are almost quite

<sup>d</sup> [Anne.]



lost, in the midst of these zealous pretences; for those who make the greatest stir about religion, are too frequently found to have the least regard to it in their lives and actions; just as the malecontents and nonjurors, who can certainly be no friends to England, raise the loudest outcries of the church's danger, when, at the same time, it is known they are the greatest enemies to it, and its present establishment. How else could one of them\* so impudently propose an union with the clergy of France? A friend to that church can be no friend to this at home. Yet these are the men who begin the clamour, to the great disturbance of the catholic church; and then basely turn it upon us, by a common jesuitical figure, and cry, that we are the church's enemies, and design its ruin; and all for no other reason, sir, but because we will not intermeddle with it at all. A feint and amusement only, that they may unobserved and unsuspected betray her more effectually: for if she is in danger, it is from them; from whom, though we are thought her enemies, we unfeignedly pray God to deliver her. But she need not be apprehensive of what they can do, while her Majesty is at her head, who has piously engaged to protect her, though not in the method of

\* [The allusion is evidently to the learned Henry Dodwell; and probably to that piece of his, entitled 'An account of the 'fundamental principle of Popery as it is a distinct Communion,' &c., (8<sup>o</sup>. 1676; again, 4<sup>o</sup>. 1688,) where, at section 25, the author says;—'upon the suppositions now mentioned, I do not see any 'reason to despair of so much liberty to be allowed by them ' [the Romanists] as would suffice to reconcile our communions. ' And this I believe will be an information very useful, and very ' acceptable to all hearty desirers of the peace of Christendom; ' that is, indeed, to all truly Christian spirits.']

Rome, and of these her votaries, by crushing the innocent, and it may be, mistaken dissenters. Politics, perhaps, might persuade her to treat her avowed enemies with more severity, who dare question her title, and her supremacy in all ecclesiastical as well as civil matters, throughout her realms; which many of the clergy, contrary to their repeated most solemn oaths, publicly do; but she will never be brought to believe that God is, like the barbarous heathen dæmons, to be delighted with the dreadful pomp of human sacrifices, and huge draughts of the reeking blood of poor trembling wretches.

It is strange any men should go to introduce dragoons and fagots into a system of Christian religion; for what can be more directly contrary to our Saviour's doctrine and example, than malice, and oppression, and massacres? or more preposterous, than to send them to hell (for they damn all heretics thither) to save their souls? While, on the other hand, charity and mutual forbearance, and to treat one another like brethren, are the blessed fruits and consequences of his most holy doctrines; and whatever may be insinuated, these are the things our principles teach us. We desire to be his disciples, and therefore following his holy instructions, we resolve *to love one another*<sup>f</sup>; and if any creep in among us of a contrary temper, we heartily renounce both them and their practices. But enough of this.

Persons of more honour, and better understanding and temper, pursue more commendable methods; and as Christ hath committed to them *the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God*, they employ that alone to defend his church and truth. And

<sup>f</sup> John xiii. 35.

undoubtedly the most effectual way to suppress error is, (and it is the only one Christ has provided,) by arguments drawn from the Scriptures; which are, in their own nature, most proper to convince the judgment, and work upon the affections too. This is the business and indispensable duty of every careful shepherd of Christ's flock, over the consciences of whom he has no power, but to teach, *and knowing the terror of the Lord, to persuade men.*

But, you say, 'This has been always our pretence, 'and we have constantly commended this method, 'because it is so gentle, and we can easily put by 'the force of it; for we seem resolved to take very 'little notice of what is done in this kind; or at 'least, obstinately to cavil at it, though ever so 'unreasonably.' But indeed, sir, you wrong us very much; for if we are in error, we heartily desire to be convinced of it; and every one must acknowledge, we are not tied to our opinion by reputation and interest; since it rather deprives us of those honours and valuable promotions in the state and church we might otherwise enjoy a share of. Though for my own part, those advantages do not in the least tempt my utmost ambition, to make me, in disobedience to God and my conscience, deny what I know and believe to be right; yet out of mere respect to truth, I shall ever think myself obliged to any man who kindly takes pains to undeceive me in a matter he thinks I am mistaken in, and shall always be open to instruction; and as far as I can judge of our whole body, they are ready to embrace the truth, and renounce their errors, as soon as they shall be made appear to be such by authentic proofs. And this character Mr. Wall himself too

allows us, among other things to the same effect, adding these words ; ‘ I take them generally to be ‘ cordial, open, and frank expressers of their sentiments §.’

You call this also, ‘ the old cant, and hope we will ‘ no more make use of it, till we have answered what ‘ is so learnedly written against us by Mr. Wall ; ‘ who has, you think, most effectually ruined our ‘ cause, in the judgment of all reasonable, considerate ‘ men.’ But that you are mistaken in your opinion of his book, and that Mr. Wall has done our cause no prejudice, nor is the formidable adversary you represent him to be, is as clear to me, as the contrary seems to you, and perhaps you may be persuaded shortly to think so too. I confess I look on what he has done as the best defence of infant-baptism extant, and therefore it deserves an answer. And you may expect a complete one, by a very learned hand <sup>h</sup>, which, it is likely, may go far toward putting an end to the controversy ; but the person who undertakes it, is under such avocations, that I doubt it will be some time before it can be published. In the meanwhile, therefore, I will set myself to obey your commands, (for such I esteem the requests of my friends,) and the more willingly, that I may confirm you in the good opinion you are pleased to express of me : you think I have so much ingenuity, as to follow truth wherever I find it ; and since I

§ Part ii. p. 416. [573.]

<sup>h</sup> [Mr. Joseph Stennet, a learned minister, author of the Answer to David Russen’s ‘ Fundamentals,’ &c. 1704. For some account of him and his works, consult Crosby’s History of the Baptists, vol. iv. p. 319—326. also Ivimey’s Baptists.]

persist in my former notion, you are willing to believe I have something which appears a reason to me, to offer in my defence ; and on this account, you shall be glad, you say, to know my sentiments of Mr. Wall's book ; which I will give you, without prejudice or heat, and I hope the consequence will be the continuance of your friendship.

I esteem Mr. Wall's, I said, the best defence of infant-baptism I have seen ; and that for those reasons on which he recommends it himself in his preface. I believe, indeed, they are not all sound ; but he all the way endeavours to impose them on the reader with such an air, as shall make them pass for such with many. Besides, it must be allowed he has, in some respects, argued to more advantage than any before him, having reaped the benefit of their writings ; but with all his advantages, and though he stands on the shoulders of those who have gone before him, his size is not so gigantic, that we need be afraid to engage him, and enter the dispute. But before I come to particulars, it may be proper to make some general remarks, which will be of service to us, when we consider the several arguments wherein his strength lies.

In the first place, sir, I must desire you to believe Mr. Wall is not every where to be depended on : he represents some things so unfairly, and others in so false a light, that he is not to be read without much caution and distrust. He would be thought, indeed, a mighty fair and impartial writer, and to this end endeavours to conceal the contrary bias he was under ; and he has done it so successfully too, that he has had the good fortune generally to gain the

reputation he aimed at; but how undeservedly, I will leave you, though so much his friend, to judge, by the following instances:

He tells us in the title-page, his design is ‘impartially to collect all the passages in the writers of ‘the first four centuries, as do make either for or ‘against infant-baptism.’ And afterwards he says, ‘he has produced all he has met with in the authors that wrote in the first four centuries<sup>b</sup>,’ and that he has done it in ‘their own words, without ‘omitting any that he knows of’ within the limited time. He assures us of it again in another place<sup>k</sup>, in order to remove all doubts, and persuade you that he has not suffered a single instance to escape his diligence, especially in the earliest ages. But I am positive I could easily point out several passages, all cited from writers in the first three centuries, which he has taken no notice of, and each of them stronger in favour of antipædobaptism than any he produces for the contrary, till St. Cyprian’s time. This is not the proper place, but if there is occasion, I intend to give you some hereafter, when they may more conveniently fall in; at present, I shall only observe, he discovers his design, notwithstanding his pretences to impartiality, was to establish the baptism of infants, I had almost said *per fas et nefas*. For after a long quotation from Justin Martyr’s first apology, which does not in the least touch on the baptism of infants, as Mr. Wall himself confesses, he makes the reader put the question<sup>l</sup>, ‘To what purpose this is cited in a discourse ‘of infant-baptism?’ plainly intimating it did not

<sup>b</sup> Part ii. p. 1. [1.]    <sup>i</sup> Introd. p. 2. [3.]    <sup>k</sup> Part ii. p. 8. [11.]

<sup>l</sup> Part i. p. 15. [69.]

directly serve his secret real design, the baptism of infants not being spoken of in it; however to balance the matter, he says, it makes nothing against it neither, in which he is manifestly in the wrong.

The martyr is there giving the emperor an account of the Christian form of baptizing in general, as it was administered to all; and not, as Mr. Wall takes the freedom, without any ground, to suppose, to those only who were converted from heathenism, thereby introducing two baptisms into the church, contrary to the express words of St. Paul<sup>m</sup>, and making Justin most imprudently fall into what he was endeavouring to avoid, namely, the suspicion of 'dealing unfairly,' by concealing something from the emperor's knowledge. But to fortify his conjecture he adds, the reason of the martyr's profound silence in the matter was, that 'he had no occasion 'to speak of the case of infants.'

A very disingenuous assertion! as you cannot but think it, sir, if you call to mind the scandal Christians were commonly under, in those days, which St. Justin himself, and all the apologists are so careful to remove; I mean, their being taxed with murdering their children at their meetings, and feasting on their flesh. For this calumny was industriously spread among the pagans, and the Christians cleared themselves very well; but without disparaging the arguments they employed, I will venture to say, the baptism of infants, if it had been in use among them, might have been urged with as much weight as any, and they would certainly have thought it as conclusive, and not have passed it over with a total neglect.

<sup>m</sup> Eph. iv. 5.

On the whole, I infer, and I hope not without reason, this passage of St. Justin is directly against infant-baptism; and therefore, when Mr. Wall says, it is not directly for his purpose, that must imply, whatever he pretends, his aim was only to find out what might be most plausibly offered for the opinion he had before entertained. I draw this inference not from this passage alone, but from several others also in his book, and from what I am going to add in the next place, which perhaps you may esteem the plainer proof.

After our author has laboured<sup>n</sup> to establish the credit of St. Cyprian, and his testimonies for infant-baptism, supposing the reader sufficiently prepared to understand all that Father says of baptism, as including pædobaptism too; he presents us with a citation out of his commonplace-book, as Mr. Wall terms it, where St. Cyprian, to shew the necessity of regeneration *and* baptism, (not *or* baptism, which would have answered Mr. Wall's end better,) uses the words of St. John, *Except a man be born<sup>o</sup>, &c.*, and then suddenly changing the person, because St. Cyprian quoted St. John, he substitutes St. John's authority in the room of St. Cyprian's, and runs on as if he was only arguing from that sacred testimony, to fix the sense of those words in some particulars he had most occasion for, and which have really no difficulty in them.

Thus having passed it on you, that St. Cyprian does sometimes speak in favour of infant-baptism, and then taking it for granted he does it here too; he shifts authorities, after his singular method of improving things, and makes a descant on the words

<sup>n</sup> Part I. p. 57, 58. [146.]

<sup>o</sup> John iii. 5.



of St. John, in hopes to carry it with the credulous reader; and at last concludes, that from these considerations we may see *plainly* this is a good testimony for infant-baptism.

And as he represents it, indeed, it seems to have some weight. But pray, sir, observe the fallacy: to persuade you that St. Cyprian means nothing but water-baptism, he unfairly cuts off these words taken out of the same gospel, *Except ye eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of man, ye have no life in you*<sup>p</sup>; which immediately follow those cited by Mr. Wall, and make up this whole chapter. As if he foresaw they would lessen the testimony he was so fond of, and therefore, in point of prudence, might be omitted: for it is clear from them, that by *regenerate* in the text, St. Cyprian did not understand baptism only, nor at all indeed, for that word seems plainly to refer to these words, John vi. 53; and also, that he pleads as strongly for the necessity of communicating infants, as baptizing them.

Mr. Wall therefore, being pressed afterwards<sup>q</sup> by Mr. Daillé's argument from this passage, to prove infants were admitted, in St. Cyprian's time, to the eucharist, would extricate himself, by owning, in express terms, when he thinks it has first had its effect in this place, that 'it would be but a very ' weak argument for infant-baptism, were it not ' that he himself (viz. St. Cyprian) in other places ' mentions infants by name, as contained under the ' general rule that requires baptism;' and with this confession of his disingenuity, he thinks to ward off the force of Mr. Daillé's argument. But this does

<sup>p</sup> John vi. 53.

<sup>q</sup> Part ii. p. 355. [480.]

him no manner of kindness; for whatever may appear from other passages to have been St. Cyprian's judgment in the case, if this particular passage does not prove it, (as he confesses it does not,) a man of his pretended impartiality should not have insisted on it. Besides, whatever he would have us believe, he must needs perceive, those texts being joined together without any thing between them but a necessary copula, under the same head, and unavoidably applied to the same subject, the passage is either of no use to confirm infant-baptism, or else it may be as well urged for their being admitted to the awful sacrament of the Lord's Supper. To save you the trouble of turning to the place, I will transcribe the whole chapter, which Mr. Wall did not think fit to do, that you may see whose reasons are best grounded. The general head of this chapter in St. Cyprian is, 'Except any one be baptized and born again, he cannot come to the kingdom of God': and the chapter itself runs thus:

'In the Gospel according to St. John: *Except any one is born again of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. For that which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit.* And again: *Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.*'

† Lib. iii. Testimonior. ad Quirin. cap. 25. 'Ad regnum Dei nisi baptizatus et renatus quis fuerit, pervenire non posse.'

'In Evangelio cata Joannem; *Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu, non potest introire in regnum Dei. Quod enim natum est de carne, caro est: et quod natum est de Spiritu spiritus est.* Item illic: *Nisi ederitis carnem Filii hominis, et biberitis sanguinem ejus, non habebitis vitam in vobis.*'

This is the entire chapter, without any alteration, just as it is published by the learned bishop Fell.

He has acted with the same artifice in relation to the Apostolical Constitutions, as they are called. For he produces words from the sixth book, direct indeed to his purpose; only they, like all the other boasted clear proofs, unluckily happen to be spurious, and foisted in, as many other things were, during the fourth century, as he himself is forced to confess. And how he can make them of any authority then, I leave his own conscience to answer. He gives but an indifferent account of their collection into one body at first, nor dares deny their being frequently altered afterwards, and interpolated till about the fourth century. Monsieur Jurieu also questions their antiquity, and says, 'They are 'a work of the fourth age, and perhaps the fifth\*.' It is certain they have been considerably altered since Epiphanius' time, who died in the fifth century; for of the many passages he quotes from them, some are very different, others are contrary, and some not to be found, as they are read now.

These circumstances, if Mr. Wall had been unprejudiced, would have sunk the authority of the Constitutions very low with him. And to shew I am not mistaken, in another place<sup>t</sup> he uses them meanly himself. He could not avoid owning they mentioned communicating of infants, which made it not for his purpose they should be well thought of;

\* Lett. Pastorale 9. an. 1686. 'Cette compilation qu'on appelle 'les Constitutions Apostoliques, est un ouvrage du quatrième 'sicle, et peut être du cinquième.' [Or, translated into English, 8vo. London, 1689. page 194.]

<sup>t</sup> Part ii. p. 360. [489.]

and therefore he tacks about, and undervalues them to such a degree, that he thinks them not worth an answer. So plain is it, by his own words and management, that he endeavours to persuade his readers, by straining a passage, which, according to his own confession, is not to his purpose. And what can we expect, sir, from such a writer? I wish, for his own sake, he had considered a little sooner of what he afterwards says <sup>u</sup>, ‘That any antipædobaptist,’ I add, or pædobaptist either, ‘who having better means of knowledge, is convinced that any of these arguments have really no force, and yet does urge them on the more ignorant people, acts very disingenuously towards them, and is a prevaricator in the things of God. For to use any argument with an intent to deceive, hath in it (though there be no proposition uttered that is false *in terminis*) the nature of a lie: which, as it is base and unmanly in human affairs, so it is impious when it is pretended to be for God; as Job says, ch. xiii. 7.’

How little Mr. Wall is to be relied on, appears further, if you observe how industriously he takes all advantages to blacken us, and render us the objects of resentment and contempt, by many things which are carefully scattered through his whole book: that a man who sets himself to write with this temper and design will say any thing that favours his intention, a common knowledge of the world will acquaint us by infinite examples. When an author once makes it his business to expose and defame his adversary, he never fails to mention every

<sup>u</sup> Part ii. p. 382. [524.]

thing that may discredit him: old stories, though ever so false and scandalous, are repeated anew; all former wounds torn open afresh, and raked into to the very bone; and those animosities, which had been happily extinguished and effaced by a more charitable temper, or else considerably worn out by time, are again revived, and perhaps with new improvements of malice. He gives his own cause the most pleasing colours, and insinuates himself into your belief with specious pretences of argument, and an air of probability and assurance: for, as Tully observes, 'There is nothing so absurd and 'incredible, but may be represented so as to look 'very probable \*.'

But this is not all: there is another invention, and that is, to assume an appearance of impartiality and equanimity, and talk much of it; and under this disguise, to insert such innuendos and expressions as will provoke the passion of hasty bigots against his antagonists. Thus to make them look like criminals and dangerous persons, it is pretended they are liable to the lash of the law, but are spared out of generosity and tenderness; that their principles and main design are to overturn both church and state; that they have some pernicious interest to carry on, some ambition or some passion to gratify; and are a sort of obstinate *boute-feus*† and heretics; and to secure all, a great many scandalous falsehoods are officiously obtruded on the credulous, as diligently as if they were the fundamental articles of the Christian faith. And if I can form any judg-

\* Paradox. cap. 1. 'Nihil est tam incredibile, quod non dicendo fiat probabile.'

† [*Boute-feu*, an incendiary, a sower of discord.]

ment, Mr. Wall has too near approached this method.

You will be surprised, I know, sir, at so severe a charge from me, who have always so much talked of and admired charity, as the most amiable, darling attribute of the Almighty; *for God is love*?; witness the amazing instance of it in his redeeming us from the curse, by the sacrifice of his only-begotten Son. But you must not upbraid me with violating even the strictest rules of charity, which the doctrine and example of the blessed Jesus have taught us, and which I pray God I may always diligently study to observe. I am very backward, and you must be sensible of it, to use so much as an ordinary liberty of censuring the actions of others; nothing grates more upon my natural temper, than to tell unwelcome truths, and lay men's faults before them. I much rather choose, which perhaps is the contrary extreme, to pass them by, for the most part, in silence; and I would willingly have done so here, if I had not believed it would be a manifest prejudice to the truth; for I saw what success his arts had with you, and therefore I thought it altogether reasonable to distinguish those things in our author which justly render all he says suspected; and when you find what full proof I can make of all I tax him with, I hope you will be satisfied I have done nothing inconsistent with the noble principles of charity I profess and so much magnify; but, on the contrary, was even obliged by them to do you and our cause this piece of justice. In the meanwhile, if anything really blameworthy or indecent has slipped from

me, I heartily beg pardon of you and Mr. Wall, and shall be very sorry whenever I perceive it.

It is generally allowed, and justly, that men of the greatest learning and penetration, who are duly furnished with proper materials, and have taken considerable pains to search out the truth, are best qualified to judge in any case, and are most to be depended on. We are naturally pretty much inclined to submit ourselves, in a good degree, to their resolutions. Mr. Wall was apprised of this, and that the far greater part of your church acknowledge (as abundance have done in my hearing) they practise infant-baptism more on the authority of the learned, venerable body of their clergy, than for any reason they see either in the Scriptures or in the nature of the thing. It very much concerned him, therefore, to preserve this esteem in the minds of the people; lest, if it wore off, they should start from their lethargy, look about them, and bravely assume the liberty of judging for themselves, and refuse to be led any longer in shackles.

I am apt to think this put Mr. Wall to the fruitless pains of introducing so many things, which are really nothing to the purpose, but only as they serve his ostentation, and to display his reading. Thus, for instance, of what use in a discourse of infant-baptism, is a history of the false Decretal Epistles of the bishops of Rome<sup>z</sup>? when at the same time he allows, and we do not ask him to prove it, they are spurious, and forged by an ignorant Romanist, viz. all of them before Siricius', who came to the chair about 385. As superfluous to the full is

<sup>z</sup> Part i. p. 175. [321.]

his tedious and partial history of Pelagius, and the heresy which takes its name from him, which reaches quite through that long nineteenth chapter, and fills near a hundred pages of his first part, which contains but three hundred and sixty in all, including the title, preface, and introduction.

He offers, it is true, to excuse the digression<sup>a</sup>, but I think very indifferently; for whatever he may think of the matter, it neither illustrates nor enforces his arguments in the least; which would have been as clear and valid, though he had saved himself and his reader all that trouble; but then he would not so well have gratified his ambition to be thought a man of more than ordinary learning and application. I wonder he did not, with the same excuse, draw in more such histories at every turn, which offered as fair, and might have done him as much service as these; for I cannot see, how the sense of the other places can be apprehended better than those of St. Augustin, &c., unless he had taken the same pains largely to shew on what occasions they were spoken likewise.

But even in this digression, which was long enough in reason without it, it falls so luckily in his way, he must needs treat of the lawfulness of an oath, and possessing great riches without giving all to the poor; both which, it is said, the Pelagians held were damnable. This is perfect excursion, when a bare narration had sufficed, especially considering he was out upon the ramble already; and that neither these things, nor what gave him occasion to mention them, have any relation to his subject.

<sup>a</sup> Preface, p. 9.



A little after, he launches out again, and will by no means allow the blessed Virgin to have been without sin, since he found the Pelagians made the belief of it a necessary article. But I must once more remark to you, all this is nothing but trifling; for whether she was the immaculate, adorable Virgin the papists idolatrously maintain, or only the holy mother of our Lord, according to the Scriptures, how is the present controversy affected by it? Infants may or may not have as much right as adult persons to Christian baptism, which ever of these opinions is true.

But I am weary with following our author through things of this nature; and therefore will only add, out of a multitude, one more of his sallies, because it is very long and very impertinent. It is in the second part, and employs no less than twenty pages, viz. from a hundred to the end of the chapter. He takes occasion there severely to scourge the Socinians, and all that he fancies favour them any way; and, as always when he touches this point, which is pretty frequently, he discovers abundance of heat, and, I think, is constantly transported even beyond the bounds of civility and good manners.

Whether the Fathers held a numerical or only a specifical union in the *Divine nature*, has been warmly disputed by several considerable men; and is a branch of one of the most celebrated and intricate controversies in divinity; this might tempt Mr. Wall, perhaps, to think it a fair opportunity for him to shew his abilities in determining a matter of this nature. But it had been more to his honour, if he had used a little moderation, and not been altogether so dogmatical, which has too much of

the preceptor to please any but the ignorant, who are mightily taken with noise and confidence, which is always to such the best reason and the best eloquence.

But yet I cannot see any great execution Mr. Wall has done : for though I am as far from Socinianism, or tritheism either, which he believes is charged on the Fathers by Mr. Le Clerc, &c., and which I am persuaded they are perfectly clear of ; though I am as far, I say, from these two extremes as any man living, yet I cannot help thinking, there are some difficulties too great for Mr. Wall to master, if we may be allowed to judge from the specimen he has given us of his skill. And it must be confessed, either through incaution<sup>b</sup>, or whatever else may be fancied the reason, there are passages in the ancients which require a curious headpiece to excuse.

After all, he could not expect to win much reputation by transient reflections on so copious a subject ; for at best, those short sketches can signify but very little : and therefore, since the matter is so very extensive, and very intricate too, I wish he had not meddled with it here ; for one cannot forbear inquiring, to what purpose ? and how it is brought into a discourse of this nature ? I do not see any other reason that could prompt him to it, than only an indiscreet ambition to magnify himself and his learning. It is this, perhaps, makes him run so much upon the Socinians in several places, who, by his leave, are not so despicable a sort of men as he would have us think ; witness, besides other things, Crellius' famous treatise, *De Uno Deo Patre* : which,

<sup>b</sup> Part ii. p. 115, 116. [166, 167.]

after all his ovations and triumphs, yet wants a substantial answer; and I am glad to find so learned a man as Dr. Whitby of the same mind. Not but that I am persuaded, all that is there so ingeniously and advantageously urged, might be effectually confuted to general satisfaction; if the doctor, or some other learned hand, who is furnished, like him, with all necessary qualifications, would in good earnest set about it.

I mention these things, sir, to convince you Mr. Wall's digressions are neither necessarily brought in, nor skilfully handled; which renders him the more inexcusable: for who can be prevailed on to think well of the conduct of that man, who, without any kind of necessity, takes such a world of pains to expose himself? And I believe, by this time, you are ready to grant it; and that I have assigned the most probable reason of it. How ridiculous and mean must it then appear for him, of all men, to reflect so unjustly on Mr. Stennett, as if he had needlessly translated so many pages of French, only to shew his 'vein of fine language<sup>c</sup>,' of which he is a master; when it is certain the whole passage was directly and very much to his purpose? while this man's own digressions are longer, and utterly foreign to the matter in hand. But he knew what kind of influence these methods would have on the people of his party, and has, without doubt, found his account in fitting his calculations to that meridian; which brings to mind an observation of his own, 'that there is a sort of people that take a malicious

<sup>c</sup> Part ii. p. 287. [of the first edition: the passage referred to does not occur in the second or third.]

‘ pleasure in trying how broad affronts the under-standings of some men will bear.’

Another thing our author so industriously improves to the same purpose, must not be omitted: it is an ill-natured pleasure indeed he takes in arraigning and censuring very severely some of the greatest men for wit and learning that have appeared. Nobody can read him without observing, how liberal he is of his quarrelsome criticisms, and how free he makes with their characters, without any deference to their station: doubtless, designing to place himself above them, and to be understood to be a person of much better apprehension; or at least to have dived deeper into the knowledge of things.

I am unwilling to bear too hard upon Mr. Wall, and therefore would not say he designed a reflection on that worthy man archbishop Tillotson, when he gives him an inferior title, barely styling him *bishop*<sup>d</sup>; whereas he never was a mere bishop in his life: it looks therefore as if he questioned his grace’s title to that high dignity he was so deservedly raised to, or else disallowed of the order of an archbishop; though otherwise, indeed, I see no reason to think him an enemy to the ecclesiastical hierarchy. But my lord of Sarum is more apparently vilified. Mr. Wall does not name him indeed, but every one knows who is ‘ the author of the late

<sup>d</sup> Part ii. p. 384. [Dr. Wall corrected this (surely unimportant) mistake, in his third edition. Mr. Gale might have observed, if it suited his views, that the same inaccuracy of expression is used, not once only, but twenty or thirty times, towards archbishop Ussher; who is quoted (I believe invariably) as ‘ bishop Ussher;’ although almost the whole of his learned works were composed and published after he had obtained the archbishopric of Armagh.]

'Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England.' And for the indecent treatment he has given to a man of his lordship's character and high station in the church, I refer you to the place cited below <sup>e</sup>.

Every man is at liberty to think as he can, and to defend his opinions upon occasion; and, if it be necessary, handsomely to shew the mistakes he thinks any great man has been guilty of: but this should be done with all decorum to his parts and character, which is very much wanting in Mr. Wall; especially in the second chapter of his second part, where he professedly calls to account several learned moderns, who have, or seem to have, written in favour of antipædobaptism; as Ludovicus Vives, Curcellæus, Rigaltius, bishop Taylor, bishop Barlow, Bilius, Daillé, &c. As to Rigaltius, he makes Dr. Fell, the *zealous bishop of Oxford*, his precedent; but his lordship's being a little warm on this occasion, who at other times shews Rigaltius the 'respect which his great learning deserved,' will in no wise justify Mr. Wall's being continually out of temper, as perhaps he expected it should; for this may easily be pardoned in a man of his lordship's elevation towards one of an inferior rank.

When he wants their authority, our author is full of veneration to the writers of antiquity; and is mightily enraged at any one that ventures to say the least thing to their discredit; for it is no less than blasphemy with him, and touches Christianity so home, that if pursued it would drive it out of the world. But afterwards, when they stand too much

<sup>e</sup> Part ii. p. 124. [This passage had been altered by the author in his *second* edition.]

in his way, he is as rough with them as any, and gives them no more quarter than the rest of their enemies do. Thus Gregory Nazianzen, father and son, are but indifferently handled. The father<sup>f</sup> is represented an ignorant man, and of very mean capacities; and the son<sup>g</sup> is a trimmer, who merely in complaisance to his ignorant father, persuades men, against his conscience, to neglect what he knows is their duty, and take the liberty to defer the baptism of their children to a more convenient time than he believed Christ and his church at first saw fit to appoint. An odd character of bishops of the Christian church, whose order enhances, and not (as Mr. Wall vainly imagines) in the least extenuates the crime; for the priesthood, if any, and especially the bishops, ought strictly to maintain the purity of our Lord's institutions, and be, as the apostle says, in all respects, *blameless*<sup>h</sup>. But Mr. Wall had rather they should appear such as he has described them, than make any figure against him; for so he finds their practice and testimony to be, and has no other way to come off, but this, and pretending they were singular<sup>i</sup> in this practice; and yet unwarily, a few lines after, he confesses it was very common at that time for persons to defer their children's baptism till they were in danger of death.

He is yet bolder with St. Chrysostom, and, I think, with less cause. That Father's way of arguing against circumcision, indeed, will hold as well against pædobaptism; but his design does not seem to have been anything that way; and it being not

<sup>f</sup> Part ii. p. 372. [506.]

<sup>g</sup> Part i. p. 82. [181.] and part ii. p. 61. [89.]

<sup>h</sup> 1 Tim. iii. 2.      <sup>i</sup> Part ii. p. 59. and 61. [85. and 88.]

material to our purpose, I shall not examine it. For however this be, I am sure it savours too much of somewhat I do not care to name, to represent so great a man, and a bishop of the illustrious see of Constantinople, as a leaden-headed logician <sup>k</sup>, whom all the ancients justly admired for his masterly eloquence and exemplary piety.

But of all he concerns himself with, he singles out the learned Grotius and Mr. Le Clerc in chief; he carefully catches at all opportunities to bring these upon the stage. His memory never fails him for the latter, whom he hales in so unaccountably, as if one great reason of his writing this history was, that he might find opportunities to quarrel with a man of his figure in the world. Mr. Le Clerc, I believe, will never think it worth his while to take notice of our author's reflections; for he has some time since published, in the third part of the *Ars Critica* <sup>l</sup>, the reasons, in a letter to Mr. Limborch, why he neglects the calumnies of much more considerable men; and it would be well our author would do himself the kindness to read them. It concerns us to be acquainted with Mr. Wall's sincerity, and therefore let us a little examine the case.

You may observe he is angry with Mr. Le Clerc chiefly on these two accounts; because he endeavours with so 'foul a mouth' <sup>m</sup> to vilify the Fathers and their writings; and the other is, his suspected

<sup>k</sup> Part i. p. 111. [The expression here, rather unfairly quoted, had been altered by the author in his *second* edition.]

<sup>l</sup> [See Jo. Clerici *Ars Critica*, 3 tom. 8°. Amstelodami. 1699.]

<sup>m</sup> Part ii. p. 114, [165,] 117, [169,] &c. and 343. [In the first passage, p. 165, the expressions had been altered in the *second* edition. In the third passage, Dr. Wall substituted the words 'extravagant author,' in the *third* edition.]

heterodoxy concerning the blessed Trinity, and particularly the Deity of Christ. This is the common objection of all Mr. Le Clerc's enemies, for which they most bitterly exclaim against him, though very unjustly, and oftentimes in very bad language too. But it ought to be considered, whether a different sentiment, or suspending the judgment in so abstruse a point, is a sufficient warrant to dispense with the rules of charity and forbearance, which the great incarnate God so repeatedly enjoins, and has made the discriminating badge of his disciples. It is dreadfully severe to damn men, because they cannot 'find out the Almighty to perfection; for who then can 'be saved?' But, thanks be to God, the Scriptures give us better hopes, and at the same time assure us their condition is much the more dangerous, who so freely presume to judge their brethren; *For thou art inexorable, O man,* (says St. Paul, Rom. ii. 1.) *whosoever thou art, that judgest.*

Besides, such men, in effect, do nothing less than oppose themselves to the merciful designs of our great Redeemer, and strive to frustrate his kind endeavour to make us like himself, while he would teach us those admirable virtues of meekness, love, and good-will, &c. And though he has been pleased to take so much more care to fix us right in the practice of these things, than in the speculations which disturb us; yet an exact conformity in these weighty matters, which our Lord himself lays so much stress on, a spotless conversation, a pious life in all godliness and honesty, are not protection powerful enough to secure men from the insults of these Furiosos; as if they thought all moral virtues were nothing, without being right in the notion of



the Trinity; and that this one speculation might compensate for the want of all other good qualities: and I believe, sir, you may have observed, with me, that many of these fiery zealots are none of the exactest men in their lives. But God grant they may in time consider that most charitable warning our gracious Lord has given them of their danger, beforehand assuring them, *Not every one that saith unto him, Lord! Lord!* and in words only acknowledge his mighty power and attributes, *shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he only that doeth the will of his Father which is in heaven.*

But what considerably aggravates the crime in the present case is, that the charge is utterly false; and it is strange, persons that pretend to justice and honour, should exclaim against Mr. Le Clerc on such slender grounds, who must be acknowledged a man of great piety and learning. For the substance of all they urge, with any manner of probability, is, that his interpretations of several portions of Scripture destroy the fine glosses others have built upon them; and that he has gone about to shew that the Fathers did not altogether understand this mystery in the present orthodox sense. Hence some angry men proceed to accuse him of Socinianism, some (for they are not agreed) of Arianism, and others again of Photinianism; but they all join to reproach him, though for no reason, as I can discover, but his refusing to strain any text which he believes in his conscience is not to the purpose, as men of no mean figure have done. A method which, he rightly thinks, only serves to expose the cause they pretend to vindicate.

By the way, sir, I would not be thought to justify

all his expositions; some of them I receive, and thank him for; but not all: and I know Mr. Le Clerc will not be offended at my dissenting. The question is not whether his interpretations are just, or not; he thinks they are, and has a right therefore to propose them, without being stunned with such hideous outcries of Socinianism, &c., especially since in several parts of his works he has cleared himself to the satisfaction of any impartial readers. I opened the third volume of his *Ars Critica*, and the following places in his letter to his grace the present archbishop of Canterbury turned up.

The letter was occasioned by some too severe reflections that had been cast on him by the learned Dr. Cave, and which the doctor himself knows are not very agreeable with the pure charitable spirit which ennobled primitive Christianity. It is not our business to enter into the merits of their controversy; any one who will take the pleasure to read the volume of letters I refer to, may perceive how much Mr. Le Clerc has been abused, and withal how able he is to defend himself. What is more immediately to our purpose is, that the doctor had suggested Mr. Le Clerc was either Arian or Photinian, he did not certainly know which: but considering the wide difference between these two opinions, and that the Arians anathematized the Photinians, and were the most active in that council which deposed, and procured the banishment of, Photinus bishop of Sirmium in the year 351; it is strange, as Mr. Le Clerc observes, that any man should so express himself, as to make it plain he was a favourer of one of these parties, and yet leave it so hard to determine, that the doctor himself

should not be able to guess which. For his satisfaction, Mr. Le Clerc assures him he is neither. But take in short what is sufficient to wipe off the slander, in his own words :

‘<sup>a</sup> Whether Eusebius was an Arian or no, signifies little to me, who am so far from being one, that I think them in a great error, and declare, my faith depends on the books of the New Testament alone, and not on the writings of Eusebius, or any other Father.’ Two pages further he says<sup>o</sup>, ‘I neither approve the opinion of the Arians, nor the Photinians’ way of interpreting those Scriptures which speak of the divinity of Christ.’ He assures us also, in the same letter, that<sup>p</sup> ‘neither of those opinions, viz. Arian or Socinian, can be learned from his writings.’

In his *Parrhasiana*, disproving the calumnies of some German divines, a very rigid sort of people, he says in so many words<sup>q</sup>, ‘He is in nowise a Socinian.’ And in another place<sup>r</sup>; ‘If they under-

<sup>a</sup> Epist. ii. p. 68. Parum mea interest, an Eusebius Arianus fuerit, necne, qui cum Arianis minime sentio, imo eos in gravi errore versatos existimo; et qui fidem meam ex solis Novi Testamenti Tabulis pendere profiteor, non ex Eusebii aliorumve Patrum scriptis.

<sup>o</sup> Page 70. Nec Arianorum probo sententiam, nec eam rationem, qua Photiniani Scripturæ loca de Christi Divinitate interpretantur.

<sup>p</sup> Page 71. Certe neutram harum opinionum ex meis libellis haurire potuit.

<sup>q</sup> Tom. i. page 405. Mr. L. C. n’est nullement Socinien, &c.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. page 435. Que si l’on entendoit par là la Divinité du Fils, sa distinction d’avec le Père, et la redemption du genre humain; Mr. L. C. en est plus convaincu que ne le sont les plus zeléz Cocceïens.

‘ stand by it, the divinity of the Son, his distinction  
‘ from the Father, and the redemption of mankind,  
‘ Mr. Le Clerc is more convinced of these things  
‘ than the most zealous Cocceian of them all.’

He has one passage in this chapter that strikes at the very root of Socinianism, which, you know, sir, is, that the doctrine of the Trinity is perfectly unintelligible ; hence they inferred it was a contradiction, and, in the next place, false : and because Mr. Le Clerc so handsomely removes all these pretences, I will transcribe the passage at large :

‘ “ Not that, according to Mr. Le Clerc’s princi-

‘ Parrhasian. tom. i. page 418. Ce n’est pas que, selon les principes de Mr. L. C. nous devions avoir des idées claires et complètes de tous les objets que la révélation renferme, ni entendre parfaitement tout ce qu’elle nous dit. Il est très-éloigné de cette pensée. Il y a, selon lui comme selon tous ceux qui n’ont pas perdu le sens, une infinité de choses dans Dieu et dans les choses divines, que nous ne comprenons point du tout, ou que nous n’entendons que très imparfaitement. Mais il ne faut point confondre cette obscurité avec ce qu’on appelle contradiction, qui ne se trouve point dans ce qui est vrai. Il ne faut pas non plus s’imaginer d’en savoir plus, que ce qui nous a été révélé ; mais se contenter de cela, sans y rien ajoûter. Il y a dans les choses divines des mystères, que nous ne pénétrerons jamais, et dont nous avons néanmoins des preuves assurées dans la révélation, et quelquefois même dans la raison, comme Mr. L. C. l’a fait voir dans sa Pneumatologie. Par exemple, les apôtres parlent du Messie, non seulement comme d’un homme, mais encore dans les mêmes termes que de Dieu le Père, et ils lui attribuent la création du monde ; ce qui nous fait comprendre qu’ils ne l’ont nullement regardé comme un simple homme, mais comme étant uni à la Divinité, d’une manière si étroite, qu’on peut lui attribuer ce que Dieu a fait long-temps avant qu’il nâquit. Mais il n’y a personne qui puisse définir la manière de cette union et s’en forme une idée claire. Que faut-il donc faire ? Acquiescer dans l’idée générale et confuse,

' ples, we must expect to have clear and complete  
 ' ideas of all things revelation contains, or perfectly  
 ' to understand all it says. He is far from thinking  
 ' so ; and, with all men in their senses, believes there  
 ' is an infinite number of things in God, and divine  
 ' matters, which we know nothing at all of, or un-  
 ' derstand very imperfectly. But we must not con-  
 ' found this obscurity with what we call contradic-  
 ' tion, which is not to be found in any thing that is  
 ' true. Nor should we suppose we know more than  
 ' revelation has expressed, but content ourselves with  
 ' that, and not presume to make additions. There  
 ' are mysteries in divine things we shall never be  
 ' able to penetrate ; of which notwithstanding we  
 ' have certain proofs from revelation, and sometimes  
 ' even from reason, as Mr. Le Clerc has shewn in  
 ' his Pneumatology. For example : the apostles  
 ' speak of the Messiah, not only as of a man, but in  
 ' the very same terms as of God the Father, and  
 ' ascribe to him the creation of the world : whence  
 ' it is plain they in no wise looked on him as a man  
 ' only, but as united to the Divinity in so close a  
 ' manner, that we may truly ascribe to him those  
 ' things which were done by God long before he  
 ' was born. But no man can define the manner of  
 ' this union, and form a clear idea of it. What is  
 ' to be done in this case ? We should acquiesce in  
 ' the general obscure idea we can collect from Scrip-  
 ' ture, and not go about to explain what we do not

que nous en pouvons tirer de l'Ecriture Sainte, et n'expliquer  
 pas ce que nous ne savons point, ou imposer aux autres la né-  
 cessité de croire nos explications particulières. La raison nous  
 apprend que Dieu a créé le monde du néant, mais il n'y a per-  
 sonne qui puisse savoir la manière de cette action divine.

‘ understand, nor impose a necessity of believing our  
‘ particular explications upon other men. Reason  
‘ teaches us that God created the world out of no-  
‘ thing, but nobody can comprehend the manner of  
‘ that divine action.’

This may suffice in behalf of Mr. Le Clerc, though more might be added from his writings: but I think nothing can be more plain and express than this. By which you may observe, sir, what a liberty our author takes: and I must confess, it is not without some indignation I see all these learned gentlemen I have mentioned, together with others, so scornfully and unhandsomely treated. And when learning and piety, innocence, dignities and honours are thus vilified and trampled on, who can see it unconcerned, and *withhold himself from speaking?* Especially if we add to the rest his barbarous usage of the incomparable Grotius, a man who is scarce to be equalled in all his different capacities, and whose singular abilities have safely placed him out of the reach of envy.

Grotius falls under Dr. Wall’s displeasure<sup>t</sup>, for being guilty, as he imagines, ‘ of a foul imposture, ‘ when he went about to disprove the ancient practice of infant-baptism’ from St. Gregory Nazianzen’s fortieth oration, which is concerning baptism; whence he briskly observes, that ‘ a great stock of ‘ learning does not always cure that narrowness of ‘ soul, by which some people are inclined to do any ‘ mean and foul thing, to favour a side, or set up a ‘ party.’

It is a high imputation you will say, sir, on so great a man; but if Grotius is really so base, it

• <sup>t</sup> [Part i. p. 180.]

must be acknowledged he is beyond excuse, and Mr. Wall has been very kind to him; and his learning and station should not secure him from a harsher censure: and on the other hand, if it prove a bare allegation, and not true, let his impeacher look to that, and prepare to answer it as well as he can, before that just Judge, who loves righteousness, and sees to the bottom of our most secret designs. I am tempted to believe (and what he says in another place, viz. part ii. p. 21, &c. [32, &c.] bears me out in it) that his own conscience tells him he wrongs Grotius. Perhaps he does it on purpose to have an opportunity to criticise on him, and let the world see how much he is an overmatch for him: but judge of his success by the sequel.

The words of Grotius, which Mr. Wall particularly refers to, are these<sup>a</sup>: ‘The sense’ (viz. of a citation from Tertullian) ‘is, let them come to CHRIST ‘to be taught, not to be baptized, till they can understand the force of baptism. Nazianzen, speaking of such as died without baptism, instances in ‘such as were not baptized, *διὰ νηπιότητα*, by reason ‘of their infancy. And the same Nazianzen, himself, though a bishop’s son, and a long time trained ‘up under his father’s care, was not baptized till he ‘came to age, as he tells us in his own life.’

<sup>a</sup> *Annot. in Matth. xix. 14.* Sensus est, veniant ad Christum ut instituantur, non ut baptizentur, nisi postquam vim baptismi intellexerint. Nazianzenus, agens de iis qui sine baptismo decedunt, exemplum ponit in iis quibus baptismus non contigit *διὰ νηπιότητα* [ob infantiam]. Atque is ipse Nazianzenus, episcopi cum esset filius, patris sub cura diutissime educatus, baptizatus non fuit nisi cum ex ephebis exiisset, ut ipse in vita sua nos docet. [Grotii Op. ii. p. 183.]

Grotius begins this annotation with observing, that the custom of baptizing infants was grounded on these words of our SAVIOUR, among others; *Suffer little children to come unto me*: and that it appears from St. Austin, St. Cyprian, &c., to have been practised by the ancient church; but withal remarks from Tertullian, that the precise age it was to be administered at in his time was undetermined, and left to every one's discretion. And here immediately follow the words I have just now transcribed.

Now can it be pretended from hence, that Grotius went 'about here to disprove the ancient practice of 'infant-baptism;' when it is plain he first pleads for its lawfulness and antiquity, and even afterwards can mean no more than that it was not thought so indispensably necessary, but it might be deferred, if the parents pleased, to a more advanced age? And that they actually did so, he has put beyond all contradiction by the single instance of Nazianzen the elder, if he had brought no more. And Mr. Wall confesses this is all Grotius intended, when he says; 'Grotius did not maintain there was ever any church, 'or any time in which infant-baptism was not used.' Pray observe how unfairly Mr. Wall deals with him. But Grotius had so expressly declared his opinion, that it was impossible he should be misunderstood; for the general conclusion he at last draws from all his arguments which oppose infant-baptism, is this\*: 'But as all this shews the liberty, antiquity, and

\* *Annot. in Matth. xix. 14.* Cæterum ista, sicut libertatem, vetustatem, et consuetudinis differentiam indicant, ita nihil afferunt cur repudiandus sit baptismus infantium, quos parentes, &c., consecrandos offerunt.



‘ difference of the custom, so it argues nothing at all for refusing baptism to infants whom the parents offer.’ How could Mr. Wall, after reading this, say, ‘ he went about to disprove infant-baptism ?’ If Mr. Wall understood the Greek as well as Grotius, and had but a small share of his penetration and sincerity, he would not have taken this occasion to cavil, notwithstanding he finds so great a pleasure in it.

‘ Whoever has an opinion of Grotius’ sincerity,’ Mr. Wall fancies, ‘ must blush to read that passage in St. Gregory, together with his annotations on ‘ Matt. xix. 14.’ But he is very much mistaken, sir; for ‘ an excuse may without any difficulty be made for him,’ and need not suppose ‘ he took the ‘ quotation from somebody at second-hand neither,’ viz. by shewing that St. Gregory, by the phrase in dispute, at least might intend such children as chanced to miss of baptism through their parents’ fault; who being allowed to suspend it, on account of their infancy, to a later season, perhaps abused this liberty, and sometimes put it off so long, that by one means or other the children died without it. Grotius might think it reasonable to understand him thus, from St. Gregory’s way of expressing himself; for *οἱ οὐδὲ εἰσὶν ἐν δυνάμει τοῦ δεξασθαι διὰ νηπιότητα*, &c., cannot admit of the fallacious turn Mr. Wall gives it, but must be rendered, ‘ who are not in a ‘ capacity to receive it,’ or ‘ cannot receive it, because ‘ of their infancy.’ For I never yet observed, nor I believe better Grecians than Mr. Wall and myself, that *εἶναι ἐν δυνάμει* signifies ‘ to have in one’s power :’ and because I would not rely on my own knowledge too much, I consulted Stephens, who was utterly

ignorant also of this new construction; he has the Greek phrase exactly, and translates it as I have done. And one would have thought, Epictetus' celebrated distinction of 'things, which are, and 'are not, in our own power,' might have taught Mr. Wall how that sense is to be expressed in Greek. Besides, Grotius was too able a man to commit so gross an error; and it seems more probable that he took St. Gregory right, if you consider (which Grotius must certainly know, and Mr. Wall confesses) that it was common at that time for people, for some reason or other, to let their children go without baptism many years: and even in the oration before us St. Gregory advises people to delay their children's baptism, 'till they are capable to 'hear and answer some of the holy words,' as our author translates the passage. All which considerations make it almost necessary to understand the passage as Grotius did, who therefore cannot be thought guilty of such a base design as our author charges on him. And therefore, to use something better than his own logic, I will not say 'a great 'stock of learning,' but I find a great stock of assurance is not always an infallible sign that an author is not enslaved to 'that narrowness of soul, 'by which some people are inclined to do any mean 'and foul thing, to favour a side, or make a figure 'in a party.'

What Mr. Wall objects against Grotius, in relation to the Neocæsarean council, may be easily answered likewise, by comparing, with but moderate attention, what he and they have writ. According

γ [See the *Encheiridion* of Epictetus, chap. 1 and 2.]

to our author's own representation of it, any one who goes about it with ever so good a will, must find it difficult to see wherein Grotius is to be blamed. As to the words of the council, Mr. Wall acknowledges they are so ambiguous in themselves, that they may be fairly understood in favour of either party. And as to the last clause, which is the principal ground of the controversy, he cannot deny but Balsamon, who was patriarch of Antioch, and Zonaras, who had been secretary to the emperor Alexis Comnenus, both of them Grecians and learned men, did understand it in the sense Grotius cites them to confirm: now upon these concessions, I defy Rivet, Marshall, and Mr. Wall himself, to fasten any thing upon Grotius like foul dealing in the matter. And pray mind, sir, how Mr. Wall, though he knows these three famous men were unexceptionable judges in the Greek tongue, and expounded the words in the sense he believes is not the true, forgetting what he had owned before, pleasantly affirms they do it contrary to the 'rules of critics;' and 'that any critic will observe,' the peculiar 'notation of the word *ἰδιος*' determines his sense only to be true. Is it not very strange that it should be so plain and obvious for 'any critic' to observe, and yet these three, and indeed all others but himself, who to be sure must be no critics of course, had not the wit to see it, no more than he had to avoid the absurdity of saying, the words of the canon may be well enough understood either way, and yet that the nature and idiom of the Greek language shew they can be fairly understood but in one sense, viz. his own.

Though he would insinuate indeed, that 'the

‘opinions of Balsamon and Zonaras are but of ‘little moment,’ which by the way is a certain sign they are against him, I hope they will appear otherwise, and far superior to his detractions and criticisms. The words of Zonaras are such downright mere antipædobaptism, expressed so fully, without reserve, that I wonder Mr. Wall had the courage to insert them so largely. But his translation of them might have been more exact: for what he unintelligibly renders, I believe from the Latin translator whom he mistakes, ‘For,’ says it, (viz. the canon,) ‘every one’s own choice is requisite that they ‘do profess themselves followers of Christ, and it ‘appears by that baptism which they receive with a ‘willing mind,’ (which words I cannot find have any sense,) should be Englished thus, (to vary from him as little as possible,) ‘It says, in the profession of ‘becoming followers of Christ, every one’s choice is ‘required, and by this it appears whether they ‘come to holy baptism with a willing mind.’ The truth of what I say will appear from the original, if you will please to compare it, which Mr. Wall has omitted, I suppose, that his sense might pass the better.

Balsamon is as direct to the same purpose; for, assigning another reason why the unborn child could not be thought baptized in the mother’s baptism, besides this, ‘that the woman has nothing ‘common in the matter of baptism with the child ‘in her womb;’ he adds, ‘They’ (viz. the Fathers of the council) ‘say, every person’s own profession ‘is necessary at baptism; but now the child unborn, ‘being void of all sense, cannot make the professions which are to be made at baptism. For thus

I think the sense better expressed, than as Mr. Wall has rendered the passage.

It appears from the whole, that Grotius on these passages very properly; and they prove at least that ignorance and want of desire were no good reason against baptizing such as were able to make and declare their choice: and by these commentators, expressing this so amply, has made it probable, that such children at that time were not, or however, according to them, need not be baptized, especially if there was no apparent danger of their dying. Any one who shall read over their comments with an unbiassed mind, will see the writers were as much for the liberty and indifference of pædobaptism, as either of the Gregorys and Tertullian is supposed to have been; otherwise their arguing is unaccountably absurd. But I cannot tell how to think two such men, and according to their interpretation the whole council too, should make use of what Mr. Wall calls such *lead-headed logic*.

I own, Balsamon, or perhaps somebody else, has subjoined, at the end of his comment, some words which allow children may be brought to baptism by sponsors: the place is a little obscure, and I cannot be positive of the perfect sense of it; but it does not seem at all to do our author the service he is willing to believe it does. *Κατατίθενται*, in the latter clause, should not be translated so readily by *promise*; for the profession required at baptism is expressed every where else in these citations by *ὁμολογία* and *ὁμολογεῖν*. But let this be as it will; if Balsamon does here countenance infant-baptism, it is no more than what I have shewn Grotius did too:

and so, after he has painted anabaptism in no very pleasing colours, he as carefully lets you know<sup>γ</sup>, sir, we deserve that reproachful name, though, since we disown it, he has not given it us.

I remember three several places, where he is so incautious as to confess he is in a very willing humour to believe and suppose any thing, though upon no ground, so it does but favour his design: so when he finds Bilius had said, 'persons came 'later to baptism in the primitive times than nowa-days,' which is most directly to deny infant-baptism was practised in the primitive church; Mr. Wall is so hard put to it, he can only relieve himself by resolving<sup>z</sup> to 'believe, if one were to look 'over Bilius' writings, one should find that this was 'not his settled opinion.' He has the same dexterity in other places, where he says, 'All I believe this 'learned man would say (for I have not the book),' &c., and 'so, for ought I know, do all the rest of the 'eastern,' &c., a sign he is powerfully inclined to fancy what he pleases should be true. How often he uses this notable expedient, is not readily discovered; but it is very reasonably inferred, from these open confessions, he employs it where he is not so kind as to give us warning.

He builds on this sort of arguments, when he would reproach us with something he has no other evidence for; as may be seen by several passages in his account of 'the present state of the antipædo-baptists in England:' and of a piece with it is his so easily receiving and officiously reporting every uncertain rumour that had reached his ears. If he has but heard that any one, or a few persons at

<sup>γ</sup> Part ii. page 99. [144.]

<sup>z</sup> Part ii. p. 20. [29.]

most, who called themselves, or were called by others, *anabaptists*, have ever maintained or practised such things, as may enrage people against us, and expose us to the scorn and fury of the less thinking bigoted part of those from whom we dissent, he does not forget it. Thus he insinuates <sup>a</sup>, that we countenance, at least, and have among us, some who deny the human nature of our Lord Christ. This at best is spitefully enough represented: but I protest, for my part, I do not know there is so much as a single man in our body who dares impiously deny so great a fundamental of the Christian faith. We are sure such an one can be no Christian; and if there be any such, we disown them all, and their pernicious heresy, which we are firmly persuaded aims at no less than the utter destruction of Christianity itself. As invidious is his relating the scandalous story about Mr. Hicks: which, were it as true as it is false, has been equalled and outdone by some of our author's communion: and therefore notwithstanding this, we may still be reckoned as loyal to the government as themselves. But since he is forced to confess that no more than 'two persons only appeared to have been guilty,' he ought in honour, and in respect to the oaths of those of his own party, to have left the scandal in the obscurity it deserves, &c. I am,

Sir,

Yours, &c.

JOHN GALE.

<sup>a</sup> Part ii. p. 223. [335.]

## LETTER II.

THE private opinions of a few not justly inserted in the history of the whole body—There are probably ill men among us, as well as among others—Some of our author's invidious insinuations—Our adversaries, instead of railing, should endeavour to convince us from revelation, or reason, or antiquity—If their reflections were true, our reputation cannot suffer much—We are not guilty of the hated opinions Mr. Wall loads us with—Our separation easy to be justified—Mr. Wall has not sufficiently shewn wherein the sin of schism consists—He only explains it in general by division, separation, &c.—The true notion of schism—It may either be lawful or unlawful—Who are schismatics—Not they who go out from a communion they were before joined with, but those who unnecessarily give or take the occasion; or continue separate without a just cause—It being lawful in some cases, and unlawful in others to separate, it is examined what will justify a separation—Mr. Wall's distinction between fundamentals and non-fundamentals, though good in itself, is insufficient, unless he had determined what are fundamentals and what are not—A rule to know these—Christ alone can determine what is necessary; and what he has not expressly made so, is not so—It is useful to distinguish between things necessary to salvation, and things only necessary to the constitution of a true gospel-church—This distinction well-grounded, because the qualifications of a Christian and a Church are very different—An error in what is essential to the constitution of a church only, a sufficient warrant to separate from a communion in such error—Which is also confirmed from some of Mr. Wall's own words—Agreement in the fundamentals of religion not a sufficient reason against separation, as Mr. Wall would urge it—Turned against himself—Therefore his arguments tend to nothing so much as confusion—Though it should be allowed, that we ought to submit all things purely indifferent to the determinations of our superiors; this would make but very little, if at all, in Mr. Wall's favour—It does not follow that persons, who think they ought not to renounce communion for smaller matters, must therefore constantly conform in those things, and neglect what they think is better—If the ceremonies are not of so much consequence, as to



justify the dissenters in their separation; neither will they justify the church in so unnecessarily insisting on them—These things, said to be indifferent in themselves, by being the occasions of divisions, cease to be indifferent, and become unlawful—The dissenters are verily persuaded the things for which they dissent, are not so indifferent as is pretended—The Church's power of making laws for its own government, of no service to Mr. Wall—Things in themselves lawful may be so circumstantiated, as to become unlawful—As the case stands at present, the dissenters are obliged to dissent from the national church—The uncharitable obstinacy of our adversaries—The separation of the antipædobaptists particularly defended—Mr. Wall pretends, that though they are right, they have no ground to separate—The antipædobaptist notion stated—The time and manner of receiving baptism, so far as it relates to our present dispute, are fundamentals—That cannot be true baptism, which differs from true baptism—Our separation justified by the definition of a church, in the nineteenth article of the Church of England—We ought not to unite with persons unbaptized—True baptism necessary to Church-membership—The words of the institution the best rule by which to judge what is true baptism—We refuse to communicate with the Church of England, for the same reason for which she refuses to communicate with persons she esteems unbaptized—Mr. Wall's terms of union very partial and unreasonable—We are obliged to the Toleration for the general forbearance Mr. Wall boasts of—And desire to remain in the hands of her Majesty and parliaments under God, who have hitherto so kindly secured us—A fair proposal, in order to establish unity among us—Mr. Wall a friend to persecutions for religion—The conclusion.

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SIR,

WHAT I have already said in my former, instead of more, may serve for a specimen of Mr. Wall's moderation and ingenuity. What can be more unfair, than to represent and judge of a whole body by the odd, singular opinions of a few particular men

in it? Mr. Wall, and all men, would justly esteem him an abusive historian, who, reciting the doctrines of the Church of England, should charge her with the miserable absurdity of the Church of Rome, transubstantiation, only because bishop Bramhall says, 'No genuine son of the Church of England did ever deny the true real presence;' or the gainful article of purgatory, because Mr. Dodwell<sup>b</sup> has unaccountably asserted—and cited the Liturgies published by primate Ussher to prove—that the dead, not excepting 'the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and even the blessed Virgin herself, are now in slavery to the Devil;' and adding in the next page, that by this slavery he does not mean they are liable to any punishments, but only certain molestations and disquietudes, from which they 'may be relieved by the prayers of the living c.' Had Bellarmine been to argue this notion of a purgatory with Mr. Dodwell, he would have desired no greater concessions.

That man would be justly blamed, who should pretend the Church of England teaches Christ's sacrifice of himself was not expiatory for sin, or that the martyrs are capable of making the like expiation; because Mr. Dodwell in another place<sup>d</sup> ventures at the

<sup>b</sup> Epistolary Discourse, p. 258.

<sup>c</sup> Epistolary Discourse, p. 259. [Mr. Dodwell, however, does not assert that the persons spoken of *may* be relieved, as if such were his own opinion. His words are, 'some disquietudes, wherein they *might* be relieved by the prayers of the living according to the opinion of S. Justin Martyr.' Surely this is an imperfect and unfair quotation.]

<sup>d</sup> Dissertat. Cyprianic. xiii. §. 36. Et vero *nominis ratio* suadet potius ut sit virtus hæc CHRISTO cum ejusdem *mystico corpore* communis.

extravagant assertion, that ‘this power and virtue is common to Christ and his mystical body;’ speaking more particularly of the primitive martyrs making their blood almost equally effectual with Christ’s, to the purging away sin; and accounting them so many expiatory sacrifices for sin; directly contrary to the determination of the holy penman, that Christ, (Heb. ix. 26.) *once in the end of the world hath appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself.* (Cap. x. 10.) *Which was offered once for all.* (Ver. 12.) *One sacrifice for sins for ever.* (Ver. 14.) *For by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified.* (Ver. 18.) And, *There is no more offering for sin.*

It would be shameful injustice to make the church answerable for all the strange, nay sometimes blasphemous and atheistical fancies, and bad actions of her pretended sons. Too great a part of the clergy, it is notorious, are either open non-juring jacobites, or secret, and therefore more mischievous, high-flyers; entirely in the Pretender’s interest, and as hearty friends to popish tyranny and superstition, as ever was the Laudean faction. What a number is there of them, who glory in being called high-church-men, and carefully keep up the distinction, notwithstanding the queen and parliament have often declared such to be dangerous enemies to church and state! But to ascribe the disloyalties, corruptions, and pernicious doctrines of these men to the church, though they have had the fortune to worm themselves into some share of her dignities, would be disingenuous, and every honest man would abhor it.

Of the twelve our Lord had chosen, one was a

devil; and I shall never pretend no such have crept in among us, who, whether designedly or no, prejudice those they shelter with, and the Christian religion in general. Undoubtedly there are privately among us, as well as others, weak and ignorant, and perhaps too, some ill-meaning people, who are fond of peculiar conceits, and idle extravagant notions of their own framing. But this can be no fair objection to the whole body; for let any one shew me the community whose individuals are all correct and sound, and not some of them singular and faulty; which however are but as the wens and unnatural excrescences in the human body, which enter not into the description of the body, but at most are only counted accidental irregularities it is liable to.

When Mr. Wall, therefore, in order to make us look the more monstrous, shuffles into his impartial account, as he calls it, of our present opinions, the freaks and persuasions he has heard a single man, or a very few persons that have been in our party, maintain; it looks very pitiful in him, and can impose only on such readers who are as willing to be deceived as he desired. And indeed such readers only can bear his many mischievous insinuations; a sort of ornament he seems fond of. I cannot comprehend what could possibly be his design in his silly excuse for Mr. Baxter, who continued to charge us with a notorious falsehood, even after all proper care was taken to let him know it; nor what occasion he had for his innuendo, when he briefly mentions our liberality to our poor; adding in an invidious parenthesis, that we attract the multitude by this artifice, and gain proselytes to strengthen our party. I wonder in my heart what he thinks it is

that attracts the rich ; for unless there are such, the poor are not like to be provided for : is it that they seek opportunities to dispense of their good things to the necessitous and wretched ? I am afraid this would be too great a commendation of them ; and Mr. Wall would not willingly be guilty of such a supposition ; he rather seems desirous to have it supposed they are acted only by an unquiet, factious spirit ; for what else can be his meaning in saying, ‘ They, either out of peevishness, or else being over-persuaded by their leaders, who find their account in continuing separate bodies, whereof they may be heads, do refuse to join even in those things wherein they agree in opinion with us<sup>e</sup> ? ’

Why also does he so often upbraid us with having had Jesuits found among us, and take the pains so industriously<sup>f</sup> to aggravate the thing, unless to make us thought a troublesome, factious party, and the tools of disaffected men to divide and weaken the protestant interest ? But such clamours only shew passion and distaste in our opposers, and are no demonstration they have either truth or justice on their side, and that we are in the error. If these zealous men would effectually ruin our cause, they should leave railing, and use their strength to convince us from Revelation, or the principles of reason, or the history of the primitive church, that we are the vile, novel, and humourous sect they abusively pretend. We invite them to the trial, and are not apprehensive of being worsted in the issue ; for we bottom our cause on the stable foundation of Scripture, reason, and primitive practice. Does it not look as if they were

<sup>e</sup> Part i. p. 96. [203.]

<sup>f</sup> Part ii. p. 282. [371.]

conscious that they can do us no hurt from these topics, by their forsaking these arguments, and endeavouring to oppress us by more popular arts? as if they thought one of the most prevailing arguments against us is, publishing and persuading people to believe that our leaders are Romish priests, or persons who are their retainers, and do them service. And they usually ply us hard with these reflections. Nothing can be more exemplary in this kind, than the heroic exploits of Featly, Baxter, and Russen, to mention no more.

But as we have already, so we shall see further, as we proceed, that Mr. Wall's fidelity in relations of this nature, is not altogether so much to be trusted to, but we may fairly question the facts: besides, were these things true, our reputation cannot suffer much; for every one must needs be sensible, it is impossible always to be aware of those busy intruders, who wear any shape, and choose to mix in societies they think dangerous to their designs, to breed corruptions and disorders there, and then get themselves discovered, in order to lay the whole disgrace on the societies, and make them bear the scandal. And Mr. Wall might have considered, that even the national church has not been free from such maskers, who have found means to open themselves a way to her preferments and profits. I need bring no other testimony sure of this, than a speech<sup>g</sup> made in parliament, February 9, 1640, by the great lord Falkland, a true friend of the church, according to the character given him by our late noble English Thucydides<sup>h</sup>, who was himself too as firm a patron of the church as by

<sup>g</sup> Rushworth, vol. iv. p. 184.

<sup>h</sup> Lord Clarendon.

It is strange any one should have the face so boldly to affirm this, when himself, and all that are acquainted with us, know it to be utterly false. There are such, I know, in the Church of England, though she deservedly disclaims them; and there may secretly be some with us; and so in all parties: but they are so uncommon, or so concealed, that I do not know so much as one among us. And I need only appeal to our author himself, to justify us from his own calumny; for at another time, when he is not in quite so ill an humour, he confesses, that though we 'have some Socinians who creep in 'among us, yet I have not heard,' says he, 'of any 'church or congregation of them, that makes profession of that doctrine; but on the contrary, that 'they that profess it openly are rejected from their 'communion<sup>1</sup>.' And pray, what can we or any church in the world, do more to cleanse ourselves of that leprosy? and yet he could suffer himself to accuse us of holding those very opinions, he here owns we endeavour to root out. Can this, sir, and the other things I have been noting, flow from an honest, good mind?

I would omit other mistakes, &c. of Mr. Wall, as his charging Pelagianism, and holding the 'mortality of the soul,' upon us; which are very falsely imputed, in order to come to the grand question between us: but what he says of the non-necessity and unreasonableness of our separation must not be passed over without a reflection, it seeming to be designed to render us odious, by insinuating, how much our censorious quarrelsome spirit delights in fractions and divisions.

<sup>1</sup> Part ii. p. 275. [359.]

The necessity and reasonableness of a separation from the established church, you know, sir, have been copiously treated by several eminent men; and I think it no hard matter to vindicate ours from the strongest objections raised against it: but this is not the place; I shall therefore only make a short reply to what Mr. Wall urges, because his representation of the thing may possibly too much have its designed effect, and do us a prejudice with yourself, sir, or others, into whose hands these letters may fall.

Mr. Wall begins his last chapter<sup>m</sup>, which he calls *a dissuasive from separation*, with an account of the great sin and mischief of schism, which, he observes, all men allow to be of a very heinous nature; and he ought in charity therefore to suppose all men as solicitous to avoid the guilt of it as himself; and kindly in assisting them to *flee from the wrath which is to come*, he should not only warn them of the evils it produces, which they are already convinced of, but plainly shew wherein the sin consists, that they may shun it the better. He has not done this distinctly enough, but constantly exclaims against schism, without ever giving the true notion of it, and proving particularly what it is, which was the business of the chapter. Had he cleared up this, and then convicted us of it, he had triumphed, and we would have immediately put an end to our separation.

Instead of this, he only explains it in general, by 'division, separation, and breaking the unity;' and, to make all separatists from himself as black as may be<sup>n</sup>, would have this separation in general believed no better than what St. Paul calls *heresy*. And yet

<sup>m</sup> Part ii. p. 382. [524.]

<sup>n</sup> Part ii. p. 383. [525.]



certainly he would not have us understand all divisions, &c. are culpable schisms; for he supposes it lawful to separate on account of difference in fundamentals, though even then (which looks like a contradiction) there is<sup>a</sup> a sin, he seems to say, in the separation. So that he leaves the thing very obscure, and, by some passages, seems to think *he* may lawfully separate from all who do not agree with him; but they, on the other hand, cannot forsake him without a great sin. Hence you see, sir, how necessary it was to fix the right notion of schism, if our author had intended his *dissuasive* should have had any success.

Briefly to supply this defect; though *σχίσμα*, you know, sir, signifies literally a bare *rent* or *division*, yet in the ecclesiastical sense it either relates to the dissensions among the members of the same particular church, as 1 Cor. xi. 18, or more commonly, as also in our present dispute, it is used for a needless and unjust occasioning the body of Christ's church, which is but one, to be torn into different communities. It is not so much the actual separating, as the unjustly causing it, is the sin. Schism, in the large sense of the word, may be lawful or unlawful, as it is applied to one or the other party; for the division or separation is mutual, and relates equally to both sides that disagree. Now Mr. Wall uses the word indeterminately; and, which renders what he says perplexed, confounds the different meanings of it.

That we may proceed more clearly, I intend by schismatics such as unnecessarily cause divisions, and by schism the great sin such are guilty of. In this sense only schism is to be condemned as unlawful; and thus St. Paul, by a periphrasis, calls schis-

<sup>a</sup> Part ii. p. 399. l. 4. [543. &c.]

matics not separatists barely, but *such as cause divisions*<sup>p</sup>. This I take to be the peculiar and proper import of the word, as it has been, and is now used in the church.

Hence it follows, that not so much they who go out from a communion they were joined with before, are the schismatics, as those who rashly and unjustly either give or take occasion so to separate. Thus if the church of Rome, by her idolatries and other corruptions, makes it just and necessary to divide from her, she commits the schism or separation, by rendering the terms of communion so unsafe and impracticable; and not our forefathers, who wisely followed the apostle's counsel, to *come out from among them*<sup>q</sup>.

In like manner, if any church through length of time, and the presumptions and mismanagement of her governors, degenerate into dangerous errors and corruptions, and a few persons observing it make proper application to have them redressed, and no care is taken upon it: those few wiser and more conscientious not only lawfully may, but are indispensably bound to renounce the communion of such unreasonable bigots. The other side, though, as it generally happens, by far the majority, are the schismatics, in adhering so obstinately to their corruptions, which are incompatible with the purity of a church of Christ, and refusing to join with the others in a reformation of those abuses, and endeavouring to reduce themselves to a nearer conformity with the primitive church.

The case will be much the same in regard to those who never were in union, if they continue

<sup>p</sup> Rom. xvi. 17.

<sup>q</sup> 2 Cor. vi. 17.

*after they had sung an hymn, they went out into the mount of Olives ; and, in another place, that Saul was consenting to Stephen's death : neither of which is a necessary article that will endanger a man's salvation who questions it, or is ignorant of it, or, if it could be supposed, should misunderstand it. But when the Lord says, This is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent ; and again, Unless ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, ye have no part in me ; and, without faith it is impossible to please God : none can be so blind as not to see that these, and many other such passages, are points absolutely necessary to salvation under the Gospel.*

Our Lord, and he only, can teach us what things he indispensably requires of all to whom his Gospel is preached ; and we having no way to know his will but by searching the Scriptures, it cannot be questioned but their authority must be enough to determine the things, which really are and ought to be accounted necessary or not necessary by us ; for no power can alter what our Lord has there established.

It will be convenient here, to distinguish between things necessary only to salvation, and those which are necessary to the rightful constitution of a true Gospel-church : for these are far from being one and the same. It would be needless to go about to shew that this distinction is well grounded ; but Mr. Wall seeming not apprised of it, or not to own it, I will venture to say something to confirm it.

In order to this it may be observed, the qualifications which make a true Christian, and which

constitute a true church, are different. The fundamentals of Christianity may be found in a single man, but a single man cannot have all the essentials of a church: and further, a body of men may be good Christians, orthodox in all fundamentals, and yet not able to form themselves into a church. It is necessary indeed that church-members be true Christians, and free from fundamental errors; but this alone does not constitute them a church, which is not only a body of faithful men and women, but they must be united together in Christ's name, so as that among them may be orderly performed the several duties required in a Christian church.

Thus the parliament for instance, and all our other civil societies, we will charitably suppose, are good Christians, that hold the truth in all godliness and honesty; yet nobody sure can pretend, when they are assembled in their houses under their speakers, their sole heads as parliaments, they are then a rightly constituted church, where the ecclesiastical offices may be legally executed. So that though persons may hold all the necessary articles of Christian religion, by which they are, according to the new covenant in Christ's blood, entitled to salvation; yet on some other accounts they cannot be thought to constitute a true church.

The consequence therefore is unavoidable, that the fundamentals of Christian religion, and a Christian church, are not altogether the same; and I think it is proved also from the authority of the Church of England, which makes the due administration of the sacraments essential to the being of a true church, and yet charitably grants that of Rome to be in a salvable state; though for some

reasons their salvation cannot but be thought very hazardous, and must be *so as by fire*.

One of the necessary qualities of a true church is, the edification of the members, which is our Lord's great end in founding churches on earth. If therefore all other necessities are retained, and by superstitiously adding some things, and presumptuously altering others, the conversion of sinners, and the edification of believers, is not promoted but hindered, that church cannot be counted a true one.

Again: to mistake in the notion of a church, and deny there ought to be an order of persons lawfully ordained and set apart for the altar, to preach the pure word of God, and administer the sacraments, is an error we may fall into, without endangering our salvation, or the foundations of Christian religion.

If the divine right of episcopacy be questioned, and the non-juring bishops rejected by the more judicious part of the Church of England, and the chimæra of uninterrupted succession given up, though we should suppose them in the wrong and Mr. Dodwell in the right, he was certainly much too hasty in charging the present Church of England with schism and heresy too: for though those things should destroy the being of a true church, they do not endanger a man's salvation: so that I infer from the principles of these rigid highflyers, who disown the present constitution, and account themselves another church, different from that by law established, which they openly call schismatical and heretical, that all the essentials of a church are not necessary to salvation. But on the other hand, you are to observe, sir, though to be right in the

suppose to be perfectly right in all the fundamentals of religion, should at any time presume to call themselves a true church of Christ, and accordingly, without the proper qualifications, assume the sacred offices, and administer the holy sacraments; I am no way obliged to unite with them, or if already united, to continue so; but on the contrary, to come out from them, and disown their presumption.

We see from hence it is commendable in us to separate from any body of men, though perfectly orthodox in the substantial articles of our most holy religion, merely on account of their errors in things which relate to the fundamental constitution of a church. And though Mr. Wall, as I said, does not mention this distinction, or perhaps may not be willing to admit it; yet I have just recollected a passage, where, in effect, he acknowledges all I have said. After he has enumerated some (for I suppose he does not pretend them to be all) 'fundamental articles of our faith,' on account of errors in which a separation is on all hands allowed lawful, he adds, 'But there are, besides those that hold such doctrines pernicious to the foundation, abundance of Christians that hold the same faith in all fundamental points, who do yet live in divisions and separation, disowning and renouncing one another's communion. It is pity but these should be reduced to the unity which Christ's body requires\*.'

In these words he plainly supposes a society may hold 'the same faith' in all 'fundamental points,' as he grants at least some of the dissenters do, and yet not have power to constitute a true church; for if they were so, they would be the same church and

\* Part ii. p. 386. [529.]

body of Christ, and no more divided than the particular bodies of the Church of England are ; but he denies this to the dissenters, by his blaming their conduct in the matter.

By this passage also it appears our author can not only allow it lawful in some cases, but even urge it as a duty, to separate from a community which calls itself a church, and holds ‘ all the fundamental points of faith,’ solely on account of some other things, in which he supposes it defective. Now, if this society is a true church, Mr. Wall will not pretend it is a duty to separate from such an one. By advising the members of that society, therefore, to leave it, and unite themselves to the Church of England, he implies, there are some other things necessary to the constitution of a true church, besides orthodoxy in fundamental articles of faith ; and plainly enough asserts, that we ought every one to renounce such a communion, while destitute of those necessary things, whatever they be.

If it is lawful then to separate from such Christians as we agree with in fundamentals of faith, it is strange our author should make this same agreement his only reason against a separation, as you see he does in the words cited, as well as in several other places. Since ‘ they hold all the fundamental ‘ points,’ he says, they ought to unite, and not separate ; and yet, those who ‘ hold all the fundamental ‘ points,’ lawfully may, and are sometimes bound in duty to separate from one another. This looks like something of an absurdity, not easy to be reconciled, and which unwary men only can be guilty of. I believe it would puzzle you, sir, to guess his meaning,

unless it be, that none may lawfully separate from the Church of England that hold the 'same faith in all 'fundamental points,' because he is of that church; and the dissenters are obliged to leave their churches, whereof our author is not a member, though agreeing in the same faith in all fundamental points, and join themselves to his communion. But I am inclined to believe our author will have the mortification to see, notwithstanding the great authority he assumes, that few, if any, will lay so much stress on his example, as merely on account of that, or any thing he has written, so easily to forsake their own churches, and fondly join themselves to his.

But, besides the fallacy of this argument, it turns as strongly upon himself, and the church whereof he is a member; for let us put the reverse, and say, (which is true,) the Church of England is separate from and disowns the dissenters, as well as the dissenters are separate from her: and if agreement in the fundamental articles of faith alone, according to Mr. Wall, is sufficient to render separation unlawful; I ask, on this supposition, whether it is not as much the duty of the church, as of the dissenters, to end the separation by conforming?

I cannot, I confess, see but both sides are equally affected with the argument; for if it is incumbent on all in general to unite to those they agree with in the fundamentals of faith, without respecting any thing else; the obligation is as binding on the church to conform to the dissenters, as it can be on the dissenters to conform to the church.

And if so, to what purpose then does our author insist so much on this single topic, which, if it does any thing, is as full against the church he undertakes



to defend, as against any other that holds the same fundamentals in faith ?

The reasoning of this chapter, therefore, (though I am far from thinking it his design,) if justly pursued, would produce confusion and obstinacy rather than any thing else. For it makes it necessary for the dissenters to alter their own constitution, and receive that of the Church of England ; which is obliged at the same time, and for the same reason, to quit her constitution, and receive that of the dissenters : and when this is done, the separation will continue still as wide as before, and they must change back again, and so go on in a constant round ; unless to fix the matter, one side shall sinfully resolve to adhere to their old form, in order to afford the other a possibility of knowing and performing their duty. But it would be endless to trace this winding maze of numerous absurdities quite through. Mr. Wall indeed thinks there is a great disparity between the Church of England and the dissenters, and therefore the argument does not oblige both alike.

They agree, it is true, in all fundamentals of religion ; and the difference between them is, in his opinion, concerning things of far less moment, and in which that church has signally the advantage, in that she is established by the civil authority of the land ; and therefore in all things of an indifferent nature ought to have the preference, and be obeyed : and the dissenters, not standing on the same foot, ought to submit all such things, and acquiesce in her determinations.

Supposing this, and that nothing can be more just and reasonable than in things purely indifferent to

be regulated by our superiors; Mr. Wall must take this along with him as the consequence, that if any of the dissenting parties should become the national church by the civil power, they would have a right to the same privileges: for what the magistrate's establishment gives to one, it cannot but give to another; and so what the Church of England is entitled to here, by her civil establishment, may be as justly claimed by the presbyterian churches in Scotland and those of the United Provinces, and by the Lutherans in Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark; and if so, they must be supposed to want no essentials to the constitution of a true church of Christ. It will be as great a sin and schism, then, for any, even of the Church of England itself, to divide from their communion in those states, as it is for the dissenters to separate from the national church here. And this seems to place the nature and guilt of schism in nothing so much, as in the departing from any church established by the law of the land. And therefore our author says<sup>t</sup>, 'The Church of England would not approve of a schism that should be set up in any other church, though it were for the introducing of those ways of worship which they have prescribed.' But we see how true this is, by their building churches, and sending their ministers abroad; and from my lord Clarendon's and Dr. Morley's<sup>u</sup> refusing

<sup>t</sup> Part ii. p. 394. [540.]

<sup>u</sup> [Dr. Morley was bishop of Winchester, in the reign of king Charles the Second. It will appear from his statement, that he did not decline to join the French congregation at Charenton, (where the celebrated M. Claude was their chief minister,) because they were *protestants*, as Mr. Gale seems to insinuate; but

to communicate with the French protestants, under Monsieur Claude; and my lord Scudamore's withdrawing from the church at Charenton. And the Commons, in a very memorable declaration they drew up in the 19th of James I, say, 'That if his 'majesty cannot by treaty procure the peace and

because they were *presbyterians*, and that for weighty reasons; which I here give in his own words, from page viii. of the preface to his 'Several Treatises written on several Occasions,' 4<sup>o</sup>. London, 1683.

' When I was in France, I did at Paris assist Dr. Cozins, late 'bishop of Durham, in preaching to the English *protestants* 'there at Sir Richard Brown's house, then resident there for 'our king; but never went to the French presbyterian church 'at Charenton, no more than I did afterwards to that of Caen 'in Normandy, whilst I was there.

' For which being asked the reason, of the chief pastor of the 'church, the learned M. Bouchart, my answer was, that I forbore to come to their church; *first*, because we had, at my 'lady Ormond's house, there, a congregation of our own, 'wherein we had not only *preaching*, as they had, but a *liturgy* 'or solemn form of worshipping God by prayers, praises, and 'thanksgivings, which (as I imagined) they had not in their 'churches. *Secondly*, Because though I understood their language when I read it, yet I did not understand it when I heard 'it spoken, so well as, though the matter were never so good, to 'be at all edified by it. And *thirdly*, Because, if they did not 'favour and encourage, yet they did not, at least they had not 'hitherto condemned or reproved the scandalous and rebellious 'proceedings of their presbyterian brethren in *England*, against 'the *king* and against the *church*: which until they should do 'by some public act, or manifestation of their judgments to 'the contrary, I could not choose but think they approved, or 'at least did not dislike, what our presbyterians in England had 'done and were still doing. And therefore I did forbear, for 'the present, to join in communion with them there at Caen, 'as I had done formerly, for the very same reasons, with those 'at Charenton.']

‘safety of his children abroad, and of the true professors (in foreign parts) of the same religion professed by the Church of England, they would, to their utmost power, with their lives and fortunes, assist him so, as that he may be able to do it with his sword.’

If there is no other reason why the dissenters should unite with the church, but her being supported by law, for in all other respects they are supposed equal, the crime can be very little, if at all, less in the latter than in the former; and the schism must be at least almost equally sinful in both, since there is no essential ground, according to the case supposed, on either side, to justify their separation.

x ‘Various ceremonies, forms, and methods of ordering church-matters’, particular collects or ‘prayers, or clauses of prayers,’ Mr. Wall thinks should not be esteemed by the dissenters a sufficient cause of separation. But he knows the imposing these things is thought a sufficient reason, and strongly urged as such too; and though some can venture to go with him thus far, that upon the supposition these things do not evert the foundation, as he somewhere phrases it, nor appear inconsistent with the fundamentals of the Christian church and religion, they are then, indeed, no good reason why any one should renounce the communion of those saints who are pleased with these ceremonies, &c., yet the same persons think it will not therefore follow that they must constantly conform to all those things, being verily persuaded they may have the liberty notwithstanding, commonly to exercise such

x Part ii. p. 392. [537.]

y Part ii. p. 397. [544.]

ceremonies only, as they like better, and think are more for God's honour and the good of their souls. After this manner Mr. Wall in effect allows<sup>z</sup> they might still continue to be the same church; for as long as they do not renounce one another's communion, but communicate together as should seem convenient, they will scarcely be more different than cathedrals, chapels, and parish-churches, whose forms differ very much in several particulars; some choosing the cathedral-worship, and others the parochial, and yet continuing to be the same church.

Whether this would be granted or no, Mr. Wall cannot possibly deny, but that if those ceremonies, &c., are not of so much consequence as to justify a separation, and that therefore the dissenters are to blame in separating on their account; for the same reason, any church, which unnecessarily insists on these things so stiffly, is full as accessary to the separation, and as guilty of it, and perhaps more guilty, than the dissenters themselves<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>z</sup> Part ii. p. 396. [543.]

<sup>a</sup> 'This, with all its consequences, though they bear so hard on such churches, is fully allowed at several turns by the warmest of our adversaries, who really ruin their own cause, and give up all the dissenters ask: thus one of them particularly, who is usually very angry, says, 'We may partake of other men's sins, by giving offence or scandalous example.' As men are members of society, they stand responsible not only for the positive legality of the actions, as considered in themselves, and their own natures, solely with respect to the subject-matter of them; but also for their relative consequences, as they may affect the consciences of others, to which we are bound by the laws of charity to give no violation, disturbance, or occasion of transgressing; and in all our deportment, to consult not only its lawfulness, but its decency and expediency, with regard to our brethren, against whom we may sin, (as St. Paul says, in the

For though she may think the ceremonies decent and useful, &c., yet being of an indifferent nature at best, they may either be used or laid aside, as shall be found most convenient; and there is no more necessity from the things themselves, for the use than the disuse of them: wherefore rigidly to resolve to introduce them into the church, or maintain them there, is unnecessarily giving occasion to others not so well satisfied, to disown those things, and the church which imposes them.

And thus the common pretence of their usefulness ceases; and instead of it, they become prejudicial, by creating divisions, which alters the case quite, and renders them not merely indifferent, but unlawful; for though they are indifferent in themselves, I hope our author will not imagine it is an indifferent matter whether they prove an occasion of rending the body of Christ, nor question its being far better, and, to be plain, their indispensable duty too, rather to alter and wholly give up what themselves account so indifferent, than by retaining them, to endanger and break the unity of the church, which they find is impossible to be preserved while they are retained.

It is strange men can exclaim so bitterly against

admirable state of this case, 1 Cor. viii. 10. *and wound their weak consciences, and sin against Christ.* Thus the abuse even of an innocent liberty cannot be justified by a good intention; and we are liable to answer for the fall of those to whom we become a *stumbling-block and a rock of offence.* Dr. Sacheverell's Sermon at the Assizes held at Derby, Aug. 15. 1709. page 12.

'In giving offence by our actions, we use our liberty for a cloak of maliciousness; and make what would be otherwise innocent, culpable.' Ibid. p. 14.

schism, (and God knows the sin is black enough,) and at the same time know in their consciences they prefer their humours and opinions about external indifferent matters, before the important concern of the peace and edification of the church.

There are several public defences made, by which all men may see how far they can justify themselves, who disown the Church of England, even upon these trifling accounts, as they are thought; and on what grounds they think it cannot be their duty to yield to the national church in her imposing things which are really indifferent: but whether they are able to make a rational defence of themselves or no; nay, let us suppose that some cannot, and yet are resolved to continue their separation; if such unreasonable mistaken men, or what you will please to call them, are found among us, this will not lessen the church's guilt, in so tenaciously continuing to throw the needless occasions in their way. Besides, it is to be believed, all the churches, and the greatest part, if not every private man of the dissenters, are satisfied in their hearts, that the things they dissent for, are not so indifferent as it is said, nor can be received without corrupting the purity of the Christian religion.

This considerably enhances their fault, who in matters they confess to be indifferent, through no necessity, but from the motions of an arbitrary temper only, will bear so hard upon the consciences of such as cannot have the same opinion, and drive them to the desperate dilemma of conforming against their consciences, or breaking the unity of the church. A more Christian and becoming disposition in the governing party might have removed

withstanding this, they are so far from helping us to avoid the danger, that they wilfully lay the unnecessary stumblingblocks before us, which they are assured will and do make us fall, in direct opposition to the apostle's counsel and pattern<sup>c</sup>, who says, *But when ye sin so against the brethren, and wound their weak conscience, ye sin against Christ. Wherefore, if meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend.* How vastly different from this tender regard and consideration of the infirmities of others, and of how different an original, is the inflexible temper of some nowadays, who rather than part with any thing they have once received, will endanger the salvation of those who cannot subscribe to it, even though it should prove the eternal ruin of thousands *for whom Christ died!*

I have said more on this occasion than at first I intended; but Mr. Wall had suppressed so many particulars, in his treating this head, that it was needful to supply them: for they are material, and give the case of our separation quite another aspect. I might here make several deductions from the observations I have made, and apply them to the condition of the church in England; but I waive it, and only desire you to compare what I have writ with the last chapter in Mr. Wall.

After he has declared the mischief and sin of divisions, &c., he addresses himself to the antipædobaptists: and since I am obliged to follow him, let us briefly consider the point, sir, between the Church

<sup>c</sup> 1 Cor. viii. 9; Rom. xiv. 15; 1 Cor. viii. 12, 13.



of England and them. And first, I must desire you always to remember, Mr. Wall argues on the supposition that we are right, and the other side in the error; and undertakes to shew, we have notwithstanding no sufficient ground to separate: an attempt which appears too extravagant for any but a very partial man to engage in. Would you have thought it possible, sir, without this instance, that a person of sense and reading should assert, it is unlawful to separate from a church, which so freely presumes to innovate in the positive institutions of our Saviour, and impose her own alterations instead of them? And that you may see this is really the case, and judge better how Mr. Wall has acquitted himself in his undertaking, I will present you with our notion of the point.

When our Lord sent out his disciples to preach, and instituted the holy ordinance of baptism, he commanded, that all persons should be first taught to believe in him, and then be admitted into his church and covenant, by being dipped into the water, *in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*. None therefore can be true members of the Christian church the apostles were then sent forth to gather, unless they are accordingly first taught, and afterwards regularly received, according to our Lord's direction, by dipping them into the water, and pronouncing that sacred form of words he prescribed.

Now our author supposes us in the right in all this; and yet says it is not sufficient to justify our separation. The stress of what he urges lies in this position, that the difference is not about fundamentals; if it were, he acknowledges we ought to

separate; but the age or time of receiving baptism cannot be such. But whatever it may be in his opinion, it is a fundamental with us in the constitution of a church: and if he can think the true subject, and the just manner of administering this ordinance, are not of its essence, but wholly indifferent, and what there is no need to be curious in; I assure you we are of another mind, and have more reverence for our Lord's institutions, than to esteem the due performance of them so light a thing. It is of important consequence, we think, to retain his methods punctually, and not deviate in the least particular: for 'it is highly suitable to the nature 'of things, to believe,' as my lord bishop of Sarum judiciously observes<sup>d</sup>, 'That our Saviour, who has 'instituted the sacrament, has also either instituted 'the form of it, or given us such hints, as to lead us 'very near it.' And therefore, if it were not in reality a fundamental, yet while we believe it is, it has the influence of one upon our consciences, and we have the same reason to separate.

If the church has a greater latitude, I appeal to you, sir, which is most expedient and just; that she should close the rupture, by yielding to the tenderness of our consciences, and give up what she esteems so very indifferent; or that we, who are not so at liberty, should act against our consciences, and comply with her?

But I will endeavour to prove, sir, that what we divide for, is a fundamental; and, without the help of a supposition, that the established church is possibly in the error. To cut this short (for I would

<sup>d</sup> Exposition of the Articles, p. 265. [on the twenty-fifth Article.]

fain have done with this subject) I will not give the reasons our author uses here a particular examination; they are sufficiently answered by the foregoing distinction, between fundamentals of religion, and fundamentals in the constitution of a true Christian church. All he attempts to prove is, that it is not a fundamental article of faith, without which none can be saved; which is nothing to the purpose: for, as I shewed above, there are other causes which not only justify, but also necessitate a separation from a church. Besides, he can never evince this negative from his own principles. He owns baptism itself is a fundamental; and would be understood, certainly, to mean true Christian baptism, and not every invention of heretics in ancient or modern times: he must comprehend, then, all that is essential to true baptism, or else it will be imperfect; and if these supposed circumstances should be found to be of its essence, it will follow from himself, that these things are fundamentals, as being essential to what is allowed to be so.

Baptism, I grant, is of great necessity; and though I dare fix no limits to the infinite goodness and mercy of God, which I am confident he will give mighty proofs of, in great instances of kindness towards all sincere, though mistaken men; however the gospel-rule is, according to the doctrine of the apostle, *to repent, and be baptized, for the remission of sins*. We should be very cautious therefore of making any change in these things, lest we deprive ourselves, through our presumption, of that title to pardon, without which there is no salvation. But Mr. Wall confesses this; and, I think, it is as clear, that nothing can be Christian baptism which

varies from Christ's institution. That only is baptism which he appointed, and therefore that which differs from what he appointed, differs from baptism; and to bring in alterations is to change the thing, and make it not the same, but another. This is self-evident, and beyond a question.

The only pretence, I think, that can be devised, is, that our Lord's institution is not so strictly punctilious, and confined in the particular circumstances of it. But Mr. Wall can have no benefit from this evasion; because, as I said before, he supposes our opinion, in this case, is the true, and all he says is to proceed on this supposition. But as baptism is an ordinance of Christ, it must of necessity be celebrated exactly as he appointed: and since to the very being of baptism a subject to whom it must be administered is necessary, and a mode of administering, without which it would be only a notion in the brain; these things, therefore, are as necessary as baptism itself. And hence it follows that the true subjects, which are professed *believers* only, and the true mode, which is only *dipping* into the water, are necessary to true baptism; and consequently a difference in these points is a difference in fundamentals, and so by Mr. Wall's concession a just cause of separation.

It is superfluous, I think, to spend more time to shew these things are as proper fundamentals as baptism itself, and essential to it, without which it is impossible it should be baptism, and wherein its very nature consists. I will go on, therefore, to manifest how just and unavoidable our separation is.

I do not know what Mr. Wall's notion of a church may be; but if he takes it from the Thirty-Nine

Articles he subscribed to at his ordination, it will be plain; for the nineteenth Article says, ‘The visible church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which—the sacraments be duly administered, according to Christ’s ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.’ Now if baptism cannot be duly performed according to Christ’s ordinance, (as we believe, and Mr. Wall supposes it true,) but by dipping believers into the water on the profession of their faith; then that church, which administers it otherwise, cannot be such a church of Christ, as the Article speaks of: and if so, it is hard to imagine why it should be unlawful to decline her communion: for her baptism being wrong becomes no baptism; and perhaps some may carry this so far, as to question whether such a congregation is a visible church. For if, as I will prove hereafter, her baptism is not true, that is, if she have no baptism, (for Tertullian’s maxim will hold good, ‘They who are not duly baptized, are certainly not baptized at all’;) though we do not assert so much, yet to some it will, it may be, seem a little probable, that she may perhaps have no bishops, presbyters, &c., no lawful ordinations; and (if this should be allowed) neither of the sacraments can be duly administered. And then from these suppositions, and by the authority of the Article cited, the clergy of the Church of England in general teach us to infer, that such a congregation can be no more than a pretended church, and that we ought to separate from such an one.

And if, as both sides agree, baptism is a neces-

\* *De Baptismo*, cap. 15. page 230. *Baptismum, cum rite non habeant, sine dubio non habent.*

sary initiation into the Christian church; and if none are baptized but believers dipped into the water, (which you remember, sir, Mr. Wall supposes;) then nothing can be more evident, than that such as are not so baptized, are not rightly initiated, and have no title therefore to church-membership, but should be disclaimed.

Before I leave this head I beg leave to observe, how unhandsomely Mr. Wall acts, in supposing us right in our opinion, and yet pronouncing our separation unlawful; and telling us, we ought to unite with persons we are persuaded are not baptized. Would he follow such advice himself, and admit any into the church, if he believed they were without what he esteems baptism? It must be an absurd thing, upon Mr. Wall's own principle, to receive persons to the holy eucharist before they have given themselves to Christ, and, according to his appointment, washed away their sins. This he will think would be to abuse the sacred ordinance, and therefore the Church of England refuses to admit any to the communion, unless they are first not only baptized, but also confirmed; as is resolved at the end of the Order of Confirmation<sup>f</sup>.

I know Mr. Wall would say, he acknowledges baptism itself is a fundamental article, and therefore it has been inserted into some ancient creeds: but modes and circumstances are not so material, and for that reason should not be made a pretext for divisions. I have sufficiently answered this above; but I add, Mr. Wall cannot imagine 'bap-

<sup>f</sup> [Mr. Gale ought to have represented the rubric fairly and fully, by adding its latter clause, 'or be ready and desirous to be confirmed.']

'tism in general,' (which in truth I do not know what to make of, nor how it can be administered, for to baptize with 'baptism in general,' looks like a contradiction,) Mr. Wall, I say, cannot imagine, that baptism in general, without any regard to some conditions and circumstances, is any baptism at all. Nor can I believe, when he makes baptism necessary, he would be understood to mean, that some kind of baptism or other is necessary; but that all modes, circumstances, and the like, are wholly indifferent, and at the discretion of every person or church either: for then the impious customs of the ancient heretics would be as authentic as the sacred form our Lord commanded his disciples. But it has been universally allowed in the church from the beginning, and our author seems to insist on it too, that if the person baptized has an erroneous and not a true faith, according to the Scriptures, concerning God the Father, and JESUS CHRIST, and the HOLY GHOST; and if the baptism is not administered in that only regular form of words which the institutor prescribed, in the name of the Holy and ever-blessed TRINITY, that baptism is *ipso facto* null and vacated: nay, St. Cyprian, and the council Mr. Wall is so fond of at another time, make even the orthodoxy of the administrator necessary. From hence it appears, that he must be understood to mean true baptism is necessary; which is what we say, and is therefore a sufficient cause of our separation; which thus, you see, our author himself unwarily justifies.

Since he owns Christ's prescribing the words of the institution is the only sufficient authority to fix the form, I cannot but think we should strictly

follow the same words of the institution, as the only rule we can be directed by in all things else relating to this ordinance: and then all other parts of baptism, especially the true subject and mode of administration, are as necessary as the true form of words; and if only that form is true which is there prescribed, then those only are the lawful subjects, and that the right mode which is there likewise specified; and these are therefore of the foundation, as well as the form of words, and without either of these the baptism is invalid.

In short, we refuse to communicate with the Church of England, for the same reason that she refuses to communicate with persons she cannot esteem baptized; and therefore it must look very strange now, that any of her members should press us to act contrary to her rules and determinations, and join with such as we conclude are without baptism: and we should still be guilty of a worse prevarication, if they prevailed on us to grant theirs to be a sufficient baptism, and at the same time keep our present opinion of our own. This would be acknowledging two baptisms, against the express declaration of the apostle, whose judgment we more willingly depend on, that there is only *one Lord, one faith, one baptism* \*. And if CHRIST, as we are well assured, (and our author, you are to remember, supposes,) commanded only to baptize such as actually believed in him, according to the preaching of the disciples, then the baptism so given is alone the true one baptism, which is certainly necessary; and we are obliged and warranted by Divine authority to own that and no other.

\* Eph. iv. 5.



This is what I judged needful to say, in order to justify our separation, and demonstrate how very frivolous Mr. Wall's reasoning about it is. But after he has laboured to prove our separation schismatical and sinful, (as if he believed the business was effectually done,) he is pleased to propose the terms of an union; which are in sum, that the Church of England shall kindly condescend to remain in all particulars just as she is, and the antipædobaptists shall humbly submit themselves and their consciences to the power and persecutions of the angry party in the church: or if they retain their opinions concerning baptism, they shall be indulged in that, provided they will be careful to keep them to themselves.

How impartial and feasible a proposal is here! Could he, think you, forbear smiling at it himself, or in earnest expect it should be embraced? He confesses the church may present antipædobaptists, and has done it, while they were reputed her members, and were consequently in her power: and I can tell him, however he may smooth over the matter, they have taken the warning, and will not put it to the venture again; and they think themselves highly obliged to the government for the protection it gives them. They will never be persuaded, on our author's terms especially, to rely on the favour of the ecclesiastics, and strip themselves of the inviolable security of that toleration our most gracious and pious Queen has so often and so solemnly declared 'she will maintain.'

Though it should be granted the Church of England, like all other societies, has power over her own body; yet she has certainly none over

those who withdraw from her communion. It was a home reflection therefore on the wisdom and authority of the Queen and parliament, for our author to insinuate, that the 'Act of toleration'<sup>b</sup> 'cannot tie up the church's hands from any proceedings against dissenters;' who besides, by being out of her body, are merely, on that account, out of her power. It is notorious that this does tie up the hands of the angry party; and we are so extremely sensible of her Majesty's goodness in taking this method, that we beg her Majesty graciously to give us leave still to rely solely on herself and parliament, under God, for security; for all other we disown. As for 'the general forbearance which is now used';<sup>c</sup> there are some who practise it only out of necessity, and because they cannot help it. But should the Toleration be once repealed, I fear this good temper would vanish like a vapour. For Mr. Wall cannot but remember the prosecution and excommunication he pronounced against Mrs. Hall of his parish.

And doubtless he has not wholly forgot that he presented Mr. Joseph Brown his neighbour, for not bringing his children to be christened. I confess, he sometime afterwards asked that gentleman's pardon for what he had done; who very readily forgave him: and I should, therefore, never have mentioned the thing, but that I have observed Mr. Wall is troubled with inoderation and forbearance but very rarely, by sudden fits and starts, which are no sooner over than he finds himself as violent and inveterate as ever: or if he be now indeed changed, (as I should be heartily glad to be assured he is,)

<sup>b</sup> Part ii. p. 410, 411. [564.]    <sup>c</sup> Part ii. p. 411. [564, 565.]

he may however very well think there are some of that same disposition still, who would never suffer us to be quiet.

But had Mr. Wall been serious, he should have made a proposal more fair and equal on both sides, and proper to establish unity and concord on the principles of the first churches of Christians. In order to this, it would be requisite, and I think none can except against it, that some fit persons were chosen on both sides, to examine the Scriptures impartially, and the Fathers of the first three centuries, who followed their great Master through sufferings, and whose writings are undoubtedly by far the best commentary on the sacred books; and with these helps to collect from the word of God the true doctrine and discipline of the primitive catholic church: and to what should be thus sincerely deduced, every one should resolve to conform, without reserve. And I doubt not, if an union were endeavoured on this expedient, it would be accomplished much more easily than is imagined.

I just hint at this, to shew Mr. Wall might have chosen a more reasonable method than he did. But it is not likely he should come into it, because he seems of an imperious temper, and positive in his opinions, which he would force upon others, and not bend himself. And for this I appeal, among other things, to the several places where he complains of the mischiefs of the magistrates granting tolerations. Why did not he embellish his paragraphs with the famous examples of Judas, and Pilate, and the high priest, who as wisely cut off the ring-leader of that sect which endeavoured to abolish *the traditions of the elders*? For these things will

be found to be of just the same kind, if the words of the king in the parable be true, Matt. xxv. 40. that what is done to his *brethren* he accounts as done to himself. But had not our author forgot that it is as indecent as it is unjust to talk thus? For this is to reflect on the wisdom and lenity of the British government, and in effect to magnify the French fashion of dragooning people, only for endeavouring to preserve a conscience void of offence toward God and toward man. But sure our poor protestant brethren in France deserve rather to be pitied and relieved, than thus silyly insulted and condemned: and God be thanked, they are, and will be kindly entertained with us, to the immortal honour of our gracious Queen, by whose pious liberality so many afflicted families are comfortably subsisted. And she has most kindly endeavoured to have the like toleration settled by other princes, her allies, abroad, which she has confirmed at home. So extensive is her goodness! But it touches me very close, to see a man, whose function is to serve at the altar, and minister in the holy things of the gospel, of a complexion so repugnant to the meekness, love, and charitable forbearance which Christ so often, so strictly enjoined; and I am concerned that some of the leaders of the church do not know *what manner of spirit they are of*.

Now, to conclude; I hope I have made out, sir, what I took upon me to prove; which was, that Mr. Wall is not a writer to repose a full confidence in; but has committed several mistakes, and must be read warily, and with suspicion.

I am, &c.

## LETTER III.

ANOTHER instance of Mr. Wall's unfairness—The dispute between the English pædobaptists and us cast under two heads—It is strange, things so clear should be capable of so much dispute—So far as the Scriptures are clear, our practice is allowed to be exactly agreeable therewith—Therefore if we err, we are, however, on the safer side—God has revealed his will with sufficient clearness, in all material points—And he has not left it doubtful in what manner, or to what subjects, baptism should be administered—A trifling remark of Mr. Wall's noted—It is better not to pretend to baptize persons, than not to do it as CHRIST requires it should be done—The Greek word for *baptize* always signifies to *dip* only in any manner of thing—So Lycophron—And Sophocles—But more commonly it is used for dipping into liquids—So Homer—Metaphors include and borrow their beauties from the thing from whence they are taken—Pindar and his scholiast—Euripides and his scholiasts—Aristophanes in many places—The words in dispute frequently applied to the dyer's art: and they colour things by dipping them—Several passages wherein the word alludes to the art of dying, considered—The improper use of words in metaphorical passages cannot be supposed to alter their signification—Figurative forms of speech are only abbreviated similes—It is no objection to say, if words are always literally understood, authors will be made to speak nonsense—Figurative sentences not literally true, as they stand; but being defective, the sense must be supplied—We should distinguish between the sense of a phrase, as it includes some words not expressed; and the sense of the particular words singly considered, just as they stand—Words have no more than one signification—Words are always to be taken in their literal sense—The use of these observations in the present dispute—More instances from Aristophanes—*Ἰλύνω* is to wash by dipping—More instances from Aristotle—from Heraclides Ponticus—from Herodotus Halicarnassæus—from Theocritus—from Moschus—from Aratus—from Callimachus—from Dionysius Halicarnassæus—from Strabo—from Plutarch—from Lucian—from the emperor Marcus

Antoninus—The metaphorical use of the word in dispute, when applied to the mind, considered and explained—Other instances from Pollux—From Themistius—That lexicographers and critics render the word by *levo* is no argument they ever understood it to mean less than to *dip*.

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SIR,

By Mr. Wall's character, which I have given you at large in my former, you may judge of his temper and design: but there is one remarkable instance of his disingenuity not yet taken notice of, which must by no means be omitted: I mean his unfair pretences, and false assertions, concerning the word βαπτίζω. I designed to have mentioned this before, but considering it is a branch of our main dispute, and requires a particular examination, I deferred it, and will enter on it now.

As the controversy stands between us and the English pædobaptists, it may be cast under two heads: one relating to the mode of baptism, whether it is to be administered only by dipping; and the other, (which must be handled more fully,) is, who are the true subjects of it, whether adult persons alone, or infants also.

One would wonder a thing of this nature should be capable of so much dispute: for if it is not instituted, it ought not to be practised; and if it be instituted, it should seem impossible for any not to see it. But if there is indeed reasonable ground for these doubts, and a matter of such importance is involved in such inextricable difficulties, as some pretend; I think it reflects highly on the legislator's conduct, who has ordained laws, on the performance of

which our eternal salvation depends, and yet left the sense and construction of them so perplexed and hard to be known. But we are well assured it is not so ; and are more concerned for the honour and goodness of God, than to imagine, with our author and his party, that our blessed SAVIOUR has not plainly enough told us what he expects from us : no, we are confident he has declared his will to us, in this and all other articles of like consequence, with all necessary evidence ; and what he has not taught us with a sufficient clearness, he never designed for the object of obedience.

Our enemies allow, that as far as the Scriptures are clear in the present case, our practice exactly agrees with them ; and they must confess too their own is very different from what the text declares to have been done in the ancient times. Thus they allow, nothing is more clearly set down in Holy Writ, than that those who believed were to be, and actually were baptized, by being immersed or dipped into the water on the profession of their faith : and that our practice thus far punctually answers, is beyond contradiction : whence it follows, that the practice of the pædobaptists, where it differs from ours, is not conformable to something delivered in Scripture : and therefore on the whole, we do what the Scriptures expressly teach ; while they, at best, do but what is very obscurely, and perhaps not at all taught in them. That the apostles and the primitive church did dip when they baptized, is plain ; but that they used sprinkling or affusion likewise, is not : and that they baptized adult persons who declared their faith in our REDEEMER, is clear ; but

that ever any infant was baptized by them, is again confessed on all hands not to be so evident.

As far as we go, then, we have the Scriptures undoubtedly justifying us; but where they leave us, we stop, not daring to venture beyond their direction, as thinking it safer to walk by their light, than to wander in unknown paths. If this be a fault, (as I cannot tell how to think it one,) it is a fault however on the safer hand: for what can poor fallible mankind do better, than where two things seem to clash, to follow that which is clear, rather than uncertain conjectures, or even the fairest probabilities? which (to suppose more than is true) is the most that can be urged for our adversaries.

These considerations alone, if nothing else could be added, would render our case secure, and far the more eligible. But we have infinitely more to say in our behalf: for GOD has truly revealed his will with clearness, and not couched it in ambiguous terms and mysterious forms of speech, like the oracles of the heathens; he designed to be obeyed, and has spoke so as to be understood: and we cannot but think, to deduce a sense from the words which was not intended, is very difficult, and requires artifice and violence; whereas the genuine meaning wants no such labour, but is natural and easy: and whatever sense, therefore, appears constrained, ought at least to be suspected as foreign from the true.

For these as well as other reasons, sir, which I shall lay before you in the prosecution of this discourse, we cannot believe it is so doubtful in Scripture as many pretend, whether dipping only be baptism, and whether believers alone may lawfully



be baptized. These are the chief questions in debate between the pædobaptists and us ; which, if they can be amicably determined, will go far towards putting an end to the separation. But Mr. Wall's management is not likely to have so good success ; the point must be treated with more temper and modesty, as well as stronger argument, if it be really intended to gain us ; but neither his arguments, nor any other, which yet have been produced, will prove what they are brought for, as I will now endeavour to shew : and I will begin with the words βαπτίζω and βάπτω, for they are synonymous, as Mr. Wall himself likewise seems to allow ; and therefore I shall promiscuously cite the instances wherein one or the other word occurs.

Our author, to make us look very inflexible and cruel, begins what he says upon this head, with this frightful remark, 'That we are possessed with an opinion of the absolute necessity of dipping the baptized person over head and ears into the water, so far, as to let any man, though ever so sick, die unbaptized, rather than baptize him by affusion,' &c. Which you are to imagine is a great piece of barbarity, because in so doing it is supposed we choose to expose a person to the hazard of being damned, rather than recede from our fixed method. But Mr. Wall might have spared the reflection, since himself allows the desire of baptism is sufficient, where baptism itself cannot be had ; so that the consequence of our refusing to administer that ordinance in such a manner is not so terrible as he insinuates.

Besides, we think it better to do thus, than to delude dying men with false performances, and let

them go out of the world, as pædobaptists do, without real baptism, or even a desire of it, which doubtless is much worse than what we are charged with. But to make a show of tenderness and compassion, such generous men as our author and his party have found out an expedient, rather than suffer persons to go into eternity, without being first baptized for the remission of their sins;—to baptize, i. e. dip them by affusion or sprinkling.

But notwithstanding the inventions which ingenious men may be fond of, I am honestly for sitting down with the simplicity of the first Christians, and keeping to the good old way: the fine improvements introduced since are too curious and subtle for me to comprehend them; and I cannot see but 'the word *baptize* necessarily includes dipping in its signification, and that Christ by commanding to baptize, 'has commanded to dip only<sup>a</sup>.' Mr. Wall indeed tells me this 'is plainly a mistake;' but I have no great opinion of his judgment, and would not take his word; on the contrary, I hope to make it appear plainly to be an unavoidable truth, and no mistake. In order to this, I must desire you, sir, to consider how the word is used among the Greeks, by the particulars which follow:

I have carefully observed it a considerable time, as it occurred in reading; and assure you I never found it once used to signify 'to pour or sprinkle,' or any thing less than dipping; and I may challenge any man to shew a single instance of it, except in some ecclesiastical writers of the latter corrupt times; who retaining the words of the institution, and altering the thing, do, in this case indeed, but no other,

<sup>a</sup> Part ii. p. 219. [328.]

extend the word into a wider sense; but profane authors, who lay under no such bias, have made no such alteration. It is evident from them, the primary meaning is simply 'to dip,' not only into water, but any matter.

Thus Lycophron, representing Cassandra prophesying how Orestes should punish Clytemnestra for her parricide, says, 'The child, discovering his father's murder, shall, with his own hand (βάψει) thrust his sword into the viper's body<sup>b</sup>;' or, as the great Scaliger has more literally translated it, '*merget*, shall plunge his sword into the viper's bowels,' that is, run her through. It cannot be pretended that this is a figurative expression, for the sense of the word plainly appears to be natural and direct, and to contain no metaphor in it.

Exactly the same phrase is that of Sophocles, (ἐβαψας,) 'Thou hast dipped, or thrust thy sword into the Grecian army<sup>c</sup>;' and *plonger l'épée*, in this very sense, is common enough in the French tongue. Mr. Dryden likewise expresses the poet's sense thus, in the 7th *Æneid*, v. 638 :

' Thus having said, her smould'ring torch, impress'd

' With her full force, she plung'd into his breast.'

I might multiply examples to this purpose; but βαπτίζω is more commonly used to signify 'to dip' into liquids; not from any necessity in the word, but because liquids are most proper for this action, which also is mostly performed in them. It would be endless to collect all the instances of this kind in authors, who frequently use the word in this sense, but never once to signify 'washing' in general, or

<sup>b</sup> Cassandr. v. 1121. Εἰς σπλάγχν' ἐχίδνης αὐτόχειρ βάψει ξίφος.

<sup>c</sup> Ajace, v. 95. Ἐβαψας ἔγχος εὐ πρὸς Ἀργείων στρατῷ.

‘sprinkling.’ Nay, I do not remember one passage, where all other senses are not necessarily excluded besides ‘dipping;’ as may be seen from these quotations.

Homer, (for we will begin with him as the most ancient, and trace it down to the latter period of the Grecian empire,) describing Ulysses with his companions putting out Polyphemus’ eye with a burning brand, and what abundance of blood issued out and quenched the brand with a loud hissing, illustrates it with this simile, ‘As when a smith to harden a hatchet or massy pole-ax (*βάπτει*) dips them in cold waterd.’ If any one can doubt what the word imports here, any blacksmith’s boy will set him right by an ocular demonstration. And in his *Batrachomyomachia*, (if he be the author of that excellent/ ludicrous poem, and not Pigres, brother to Artemisia, as Plutarch is inclined to believe,) when one of the champions is slain on the bank of a lake, he says, ‘He breathless fell, and the lake was ting’d (*ἐβάπτετο*) with blood<sup>e</sup>.’

I the rather mention this, because if any place is brought to prove *βάπτω* and *βαπτίζω* do not always signify ‘to dip,’ I fancy this will be one. But, whatever some may do, you understand the nature of languages too well, sir, to make it an exception; and all who have made any observations of the use of words in their mother-tongue, must be sensible it is not against what I assert, but for it. The phrase, we must consider, is borrowed from the dyers, who colour things by dipping them in their dye; and to

<sup>d</sup> ‘Ως δ’ ὅτ’ ἀνὴρ χαλκεὺς πέλεκυν μέγαν, ἧς σκέπαρνον,

Εἰν ὕδατι ψυχρῷ βάπτει, &c.

Odyss. I. 392.

<sup>e</sup> V. 218. Κάδδ’ ἔπεσ’ οὐδ’ ἀνένευσεν, ἐβάπτετο δ’ αἵματι λίμνη.

this the poet plainly alludes: not that the lake was actually dipped in blood; but so speedily stained, that to heighten our idea, he expresses it, with the usual liberty of poets, by a word which signifies more than what is strictly true, which is the nature of all hyperboles. Thus the literal sense is, ‘The lake was dipped in blood;’ but the figure only means, it was coloured as highly as any thing that is dipped in blood.

I am apt to think ὥσπερ, ὥσπερ, &c., are to be understood here to qualify the seeming extravagance of the expression; as also in all hyperboles, which I take to be so many elliptical phrases in which a word is wanting: now if we suppose the poet, as it is natural enough, suppresses some particle, and we supply it by inserting ὥσπερ, the sense will run very clear thus; ‘The lake was as if it had been dipped in blood.’ Whether you will allow this criticism or not, you cannot but say, nothing could render the passage more expressive, or the sense more natural and easy.

Every metaphor, you will remember, sir, includes the thing from whence it is borrowed, receives its whole force from it, and must have its sense determined by it. To give an instance from the fine language of Thucydides: Pericles, in an oration there, reminds the murmuring Athenians, that they ought to labour to support the dignity of the commonwealth, by maintaining the independent power and command they were all so proud of, ‘and either not fly from dangers, or not pursue after honours.’

<sup>1</sup> Lib. ii. cap. 63. Τῆς τε πόλεως ὑμᾶς εἰκὸς τῇ τιμωμένῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχεῖν (ὥσπερ ἅπαντες ἀγάλλεσθε) βοηθεῖν, καὶ μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς πόνους, ἢ μηδὲ τὰς τιμὰς διώκειν.

In the word *φεύγειν*, *to fly*—and *διώκειν*, *to pursue*—is an allusion to the fortune of a battle, where one side is worsted and flies, and the other pursues them: and thus understood, the words have a mighty emphasis in them; but otherwise, no meaning at all, but are solœcisms both in language and sense too.

To speak but of one: *διώκειν* signifies only to pursue, as a conqueror does a flying enemy: and when transferred to another case, it continues to signify the same thing, in some respect or other: † it is a shorter kind of simile, where several things are implied which are not expressed; at least the beauty of it lies in comparing the proper import of the word, with what it is used to signify by the figure. Thus the eagerness and vigour, with which a victorious pursues a routed army, is applied to that passion for glory, which was so conspicuous in the Athenians. And to bring it closer to our purpose: the effect being as it were the same, Homer, by putting the cause for the effect, describes the lake's being thoroughly stained, by a word, which signifies a dyer's dipping a thing to colour it.

From all this it appears, that the sense of *βάπτω*, even in this place, is *to dip*, and nothing else. I have insisted the larger on it here, because I do not know whether I shall care to take the same pains with all other metaphorical passages. If you find any which seem material, and I should let them go unobserved, examine them by what is here advanced, and I am persuaded the difficulties will presently vanish: if they do not, pray acquaint me with them,

† Aristot. Poetic. cap. 22. Τὸ γὰρ εἰ μεταφέρειν, τὸ ὁμοίως θεωρεῖν ἐστὶ.

and I will consider them with all impartiality and attention. But to proceed.

The next author I shall mention is Pindar ; who upon his enemies' basely aspersing him, describes his contempt of their impotent malice by this simile, which as literally as I can render it in English, is thus <sup>b</sup> : ' As when a net is cast into the sea, the cork ' swims above ; so (ἀβάπτιστος) am not I sunk,' viz. in their reproaches. And by the way, this place confirms what I a little before advanced, that figures are but a short imperfect simile ; for ἀβάπτιστος here is full as metaphorical as that which I cited from Homer : (and Horace seems to imitate this of Pindar, lib. i. Epist. 2.

——— Aspera multa

Pertulit, adversis rerum immersabilis undis.)

Τὸ φελλός, the thing whence the simile is taken, being added, the sense is very clear ; and the word, it is evident, intends, that the cork, while the net sinks down into the sea, cannot itself be forced down, but will float above. This is so plain, that I think it neither wants nor can have an explanation : but the words of the ancient Greek scholiast on the place, tending so much to confirm my assertion, I will transcribe them : ' For like the cork of a net in ' the sea, I swim, and (οὐ βαπτίζομαι) am not sunk. ' As the cork, though loaded with the tackle, does not ' sink, οὐ δύνει ; so I also am immersible (ἀβάπτιστος) ' like it, and not to be overwhelmed. They rail at ' me, indeed,' says he : ' but as when the net is cast,

<sup>b</sup> Pyth. II. 139. Ἄτε γὰρ εἰνάλιον πόνον ὁ-  
χοίσας βαθὺ σκευᾶς ἐτέρας, ἀβά-  
πτιστός εἰμι, φελλός ὥς,  
ὑπὲρ ἔρκος ἄλμας.

‘ and sunk under water, the cork remains (*ἀβάπτιστος*)  
 ‘ immersible, and swims on the surface on the sea,  
 ‘ being of a nature which (*ἀβάπτιστος*) cannot sink;  
 ‘ in like manner cannot I (*ἀβάπτιστος*) sink or be  
 ‘ overwhelmed in the calumnies and detractions of  
 ‘ others; for I am of another nature, and as the  
 ‘ cork is in a fishing-net.’

Thus the scholiast, you see, sir, by his use of the word, leaves not the least room to imagine it ever signifies *to sprinkle* or *pour*, or any thing but to *dip*, or *put under*, or *into*. And it is very remarkable, that he seems to have thought no word more proper than this to express what you see plainly is his sense: but as often as he repeats the same thing, which he does *ad nauseam*, though it had been needful to vary the word, and avoid that unpleasantness of the repetition, he changes it but once, and then he has *δίνει* instead of it; which you know, sir, signifies *to sink*, though not so emphatically as *βαπτίζω*: witness Pollux in Onomast.

In the next place, give me leave to cite Euripidea. The Grecians had sacrificed Polyxena to the ghost of Achilles; and after the solemnity, they permitted Hecuba to bury her daughter's body: in order to which, according to the known custom of her country on such occasions, she designs first to wash and purify the corpse: for which purpose she calls out to her servant<sup>i</sup>, ‘Go, take the water-pot, my ‘good old maid, and (*βάψας*) dip it in the sea, and ‘bring it hither,’ &c. for the sea-waters were thought

<sup>i</sup> Hecub. Act. 3. v. 609. tot. Dram.

Σὺ δ' αὖ λαβοῦσα τεύχος, ἀρχαία λάτρι,  
 Βάψας' ἔνεγκε δειῦρο ποταμίας ὕλός.



naturally more cleansing than others, as Didymus<sup>k</sup> and Eustathius<sup>l</sup> tell us.

Βάπτειν ποντίας ἄλος, the phrase the poet puts into Hecuba's mouth on this occasion, can have no ambiguity in it; and the scholiast renders it exceeding plain by the parallel phrases he mentions: thus τὸ ἔφαγε τοῦ ἄρτου, is *to eat bread*; and τὸ ἔπινε τοῦ οἴνου, *to drink wine*: and so βάπτειν ποντίας ἄλος, is, as we commonly say in English, *to dip a pail of water*. But if it will be more satisfaction to you, I will bring the decisive determination of a Grecian critic, whom Arsenius archbishop of Monembasia thought fit to be admitted, among other great ones, into his collection of Scholiasts upon Euripides. One of them says expressly on this place, βάπτειν<sup>m</sup> signifies 'to let down, or put any thing into water or any other liquid.' He explains it by the very same word which is used by St. Luke, Acts ix. 25, and in his Gospel, ch. v. 4, 5, to express letting the net down into the sea: and so also by St. Mark, ch. ii. 4. Accordingly, either the same critic, therefore, or some other from whom Arsenius takes it, observes a little before, that the 'water was to be drawn out of the inmost parts of the sea<sup>n</sup>;' having an eye, undoubtedly, to the meaning of the word, which must be *to dip*, or the remark is wholly groundless: for in any other sense there can be no occasion, nor indeed any room for it.

<sup>k</sup> Didym. ad Iliad. α'. v. 314. φύσει δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς θαλάσσης καθαρτικὸν ἐστίν.

<sup>l</sup> Eustath. ibid. p. 108. \*Ἡ πάντως διὰ τὸ φύσει ῥηπτικὸν εἶναι τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ὕδωρ.

<sup>m</sup> Βάπτειν ἐστὶ τὸ χαλᾶν τι εἰς ὕδωρ, ἢ εἰς ἕτερόν τι ὑγρόν.

<sup>n</sup> Ὑδωρ δηλονότι, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνδοτάτου μέρους τῆς θαλάσσης.

Aristophanes uses the word several times : I have marked down fourteen, which I believe are all the places where it occurs ; and they none of them in the least favour Mr. Wall's pretences, but on the contrary make very strongly for the opinion I advance. The Grecians very frequently apply the word, in all its various forms, to the dyer's art ; sometimes perhaps not very properly, but always so as to imply and refer only to its true natural signification, *to dip*.

Thus, 'dress not with costly clothes,' says this poet<sup>o</sup>, 'which (βαπτῶν) are dyed or dipped in the 'richest colours.' And so again in his comedy, entitled, *Peace*<sup>p</sup>; and in his *Lysistrata*<sup>q</sup>. Aristotle likewise uses it so, when he says<sup>r</sup>, 'All these things, 'by means of heat and moisture, enter the pores of 'such things as are dipped (βαπτομένων) into them, 'which retain the colour they have taken, when the 'moisture is dried away.' And at the end of the same chapter<sup>s</sup>; 'The colour of things dipped or 'dyed, (βαπτομένων,) is changed by the foresaid 'causes.' And Plutarch, speaking of *Lycurgus*' care to secure the commonwealth from all those arts which introduce or encourage luxury ; among the rest, says<sup>t</sup>, 'he forbade to practise the art of dying,

<sup>o</sup> Plut. Act. 2. Scen. 5. Οὐθ' ἱματίων βαπτῶν δαπάναις κοσμήσει ποικιλομόρφων.

<sup>p</sup> Page 672, 674.

<sup>q</sup> Page 828.

<sup>r</sup> De Coloribus, cap. 4. 'Αεὶ γὰρ ἀπὸ πάντων αὐτῶν, ἅμα τῇ τε ὑγρῇ καὶ τῇ θερμῇ τῶν χρωμάτων συνεισιόντων εἰς τοὺς τῶν βαπτομένων πόρους, ὅταν ἀποξηρανθῇ, τὰς ἀπ' ἐκείνων χροῶς ἀπολαμβάνει.

<sup>s</sup> Τῶν δὲ βαπτομένων τὰ χρώματα, ἀλλοιοῦται διὰ τὰς εἰρημένης αἰτίας.

<sup>t</sup> Apophth. Lacon. p. 405. Τὴν δὲ βαφικὴν, ὡς κολακείαν αἰσθήσεως.

‘ (βαφικὴν,) or dipping into colours, because it  
 ‘ tended to effeminate the mind, by engaging and  
 ‘ flattering the senses.’

But there is a great plenty of examples of this kind<sup>u</sup>, which it is needless to mention: and I believe there is no occasion to go about to persuade you, that workmen dye by dipping; and for that reason have appropriated the word to their business. However, lest there be any suspicion in you that it might perhaps be performed in some other manner, I will only desire you would please to consider dipping is the only probable and convenient way; and in every respect perfectly agreeable to the nature of the thing, as well as to that sense of the word, which is very considerable. We see it is the only way with us; and, which carries the parallel still further between the ancient Greeks and us, as they used βάπτω, we use the word *dip*, both among the workmen in the shop and in ordinary conversation; for what is more common, than to talk of having such or such a thing dipped, meaning in the dyer’s copper, or in some colours? So Mr. Milton has used it, in his beautiful description of the angel Raphael, *Paradise Lost*, b. v.

—— The middle pair, [i. e. of his wings,]  
 Girt like a starry zone his waist, and round  
 Skirted his loins and thighs with downy gold,  
 And colours dipped in heaven.

Besides, it is observable that the Grecians made a difference between dye and other colouring matter: thus Plutarch<sup>x</sup> distinguishes between χρώματα and

<sup>u</sup> Herodot. Polymn. p. 258. Ctes. Indicis passim, &c.

<sup>x</sup> De Discernend. Amic. et Adulat. p. 94. med.

βάμματα; and Pollux<sup>y</sup> does the same; βάμματα signifying only that sort of colouring into which any thing is dipped, according to the sense of the word, as I see Stephens<sup>z</sup> also has remarked. And there is a passage in Seneca<sup>a</sup> very clear to this purpose: 'Interest, quam diu macerata sit, crassius medicamentum an aquatius traxerit, sæpius mersa sit et excocta, an semel tincta.' 'There is a difference also, how long it lies infused; whether the dye be thick and gross, or waterish and faint; and whether it be dipped very often and boiled thoroughly, or only once tinctured.' And Phavorinus<sup>b</sup> and Pollux<sup>c</sup> use καταβάπτων, which on all hands is allowed most emphatically to signify *dipping, plunging, immersing*, as a synonymous word for βάπτων, and χρωνὴς, in English 'a dyer.'

This makes it necessary to suppose they dyed by dipping; as well as another word used among them in these cases, viz. ἐψειν *to boil*: 'They boil it in kettles,' says Aristotle<sup>d</sup>;—'and when the flowers are boiled long enough together, at length all becomes of a purple colour.' And Hesychius and Pollux interpret the same word of dying. Now if they used to boil the things they dyed, undoubtedly they first dipped or put them into the liquor. But enough of this.

There are other passages, somewhat akin to these, which seem however to leave a little more room for

<sup>y</sup> Onomast. lib. vii. cap. 23.

<sup>z</sup> Ad voc. χρώμα.

<sup>a</sup> Quæst. Natural. lib. i. cap. 3. p. 484.

<sup>b</sup> Page 358.

<sup>c</sup> Onomastic. lib. vii. cap. 23.

<sup>d</sup> De Coloribus, cap. 5. Ἐψωσιν ἐν ταῖς χύτραις—καὶ τότε τελευταῖον ἅπαντα γίνεται πορφυροειδῆ τῶν ἀνθέων ἰκανῶς συνεψηθέντων.

the objections of our adversaries; where, though indeed the word is used, it appears by other circumstances, that the writer could not mean *dip* by it. We may see instances of this in Aristophanes; as where he says, Magnes, an old comic of Athens, used the ‘Lydian music, shaved the face, and ‘smeared it over (*βαπτόμενος*) with tawny washes<sup>e</sup>.’ He speaks of the homely entertainments of the ancient theatre, where the actors daubed themselves with lees of wine, and any odd colours, before Æschylus reformed it, and introduced the use of masks and vizors. Aristophanes expresses this by *βαπτόμενος βατραχείοις*; not that he supposes they dipped their faces into the colour, but rather smeared the colour on their faces. He has also<sup>f</sup> *βαπτός ὄρνις* for a coloured bird, not implying it was dyed by art, but only denoting its natural colour by that epithet. In like manner Aristotle says<sup>g</sup>, ‘If it is pressed, it ‘dyes (*βάπτει*) and colours the hand;’ and Plutarch<sup>h</sup>, ‘That which is black of itself, is not (*βαπτόν*) ‘dyed or coloured by art, but by nature,’ &c.

But those persons who would depend upon these passages to prove that *βάπτω* signifies something else besides dipping, must consider, there is a manifest allusion in these and all such, to the art of *dying*. And if the word is borrowed from thence, as none can be hardy enough to deny, they must allow it is

<sup>e</sup> Ἰππεΐς, Act. 1. Scen. 3. p. 300. Καὶ λυδίῳ, καὶ ψηνίῳ καὶ βαπτόμενος βατραχείοις.

<sup>f</sup> Ὀρνιθ. p. 526.

<sup>g</sup> Hist. Animal. lib. v. cap. 15. p. 645. Θλιβόμενος δὲ, βάπτει καὶ ἀνθίζει τὴν χεῖρα.

<sup>h</sup> Quæst. Rom. 26. p. 482, 483. Τὸ δὲ αὐτόχροον μέλαν, οὐχ ὑπὸ τέχνης ἀλλὰ φύσει βαπτόν ἐστι, &c.

used there improperly and metaphorically, and that its true primitive meaning only is still referred to, and implied. What I said above upon the second citation from Homer, which is exactly the same phrase with these, may therefore equally serve to explain all such passages: and I desire you would carry it along with you, sir, in reading, to save me the trouble of repeating it.

If in all allusive metaphorical expressions we suppose the sense of words to be altered, there will be the greatest confusion in languages imaginable, and much beyond that of Babel. All words had a determinate signification there, in themselves; and the people were miraculously rendered incapable of understanding one another, not by the various significations of the same word, but, as it is generally believed, by new ones being instantly put into the mouths of those, who were made at the same time as suddenly to forget the old ones they had been always used to.

We are by no means therefore to imagine words are of so vagrant and uncertain a meaning: the improper use of them does not change their sense; otherwise there could be no improper use, no figures of speech, and no allusions; for the sense, not the letters of a word, is the foundation of the allusion; and if the natural sense is changed, and another substituted, words are used alike properly in all cases, and only for what they literally signify: and so losing in such cases their former signification, all metaphors, allusions, hyperboles, &c., are lost too. But the allusion being so plain in the case before us, I insist upon it, that the word literally signifies only *to dip*, or *put into*, &c., and, as I noted before,

ὥσπερ, or some such particle, is to be understood, to qualify the seeming extravagance of the expression, which is a sort of abbreviated simile, where a great part is suppressed and concealed ; and only so much expressed as will hint the rest to the mind, and give it occasion to supply it. This observation will, without much difficulty, be admitted by all who have any knowledge in, and made any observations about, the nature and use of languages ; and I shall elsewhere have occasion to cite some words from Plato, which considerably illustrate, or rather enforce it.

It is very pertinent to this purpose what the scholiast says on a passage of Aristophanes\*, which is literally thus ; ‘ Lest I dip you (βάψω) into a Sardinian, i. e. a scarlet dye.’ The sense of it, says the scholiast, is, ‘ If you do not tell me the truth, I will beat you till I make you all red with blood.’ That is, (to fill up the sense of the poet from his scholiast,) ‘ I will beat you till you are besmeared over with blood, and as red as if I had dipped you in scarlet.’ But the poet, to carry off something of the littleness, which in a thought so low and familiar would otherwise too much have shewn itself, uses a more raised and vigorous expression here, instead of this long sentence, which would have been too tedious and flat.

It is no objection to say, that if the word in such places signifies literally nothing but *to dip*, &c., the sense, if it must be supposed there can be any, will be absurd, as well as most grossly false. For

\* Ἀχαρν. Act. 1. Scen. 3. Ἵνα μή σε βάψω βάμμα σαρδινιακόν.

† Βούλεται οὖν δηλοῦν ὅτι εἰ μὴ εἶποις τάλῃθες, μαστίζων σὲ ἐρυθρὸν ποίησω τοῖς αἵμασι.

indeed what can be more ridiculous, than for a man seriously to talk of dipping a lake or river, &c. in blood? or of a lady's dipping her face in vermillion, when she adorns it with artificial colour; which, on the contrary, it is known must be more artfully laid on. I readily grant, the words, as they stand in the passages referred to, are not literally true; and if it could be imagined the authors intended they should be literally understood, they would appear very ridiculous, and deserve the utmost contempt: but it is plain, their design is very different; and their manner of expressing themselves is very proper to their design, and agreeable enough to the nature of languages, and especially of that they wrote in. And it can be no very strange thing to meet with words in books, as well as in common conversation, which seemed to be used in a sense not literally true; and all ironies and hyperboles, and in general all the tropes and figures of speech which rhetoric teaches, are instances of it: and this you, to be sure, sir, so perfectly understand, that I need not enlarge. But to illustrate it by one plain example in our own tongue; be pleased only to observe it is common with us to say, such a fact or report 'stains a man's reputation.' Nevertheless this is not true in the letter, nor would we be understood as if it were, reputation not being capable of a literal stain; we only mean to signify by this elliptical simile, (the word *stain* giving occasion to supply what is suppressed,) that as stains on linen, or any thing white, take from its beauty and clearness; so ill reports, &c., lessen and impair the purity of a man's reputation, and are to it what stains are to clean linen. And thus, notwithstanding this



phrase be not true in the letter, yet the word *stain* does not in the least change, but retain its signification ; and the sense of the phrase is to be supplied, as the word *stain* directs, by filling up the similitude, as I have just now done, or else in that shorter manner I before shewed, when I spoke of Homer, by inserting 'as it were,' and then it will run thus : 'This or the other thing does as it were ' stain a man's reputation.'

This is readily brought home to the case in hand. I proceed therefore to add further, that it may not be amiss to make a distinction between the sense of a phrase, as it includes words not expressed ; and the sense of the particular words singly considered, just as they stand : for by this distinction, the same sentence may and may not be literally true at the same time. The literal sense of a word, I call the obvious natural sense it has by common consent and custom ; for words are merely arbitrary signs of ideas in our mind, and come to signify, properly and literally, this or that by agreement only, and therefore are to be regulated by nothing else.

It is just the same with regard to particular phrases ; for words ranged in such an order and construction, express this or the other sense by mutual consent and use. Though the words therefore, as they stand, are used and joined together improperly ; yet the whole phrase is nevertheless literally understood to be true, if it signifies what it is constantly used to express, which is the case of all proverbial sentences and figurative constructions. The foregoing example in our mother-tongue, of *staining a man's reputation*, will make this plainer. That only which is expressed, contains indeed the

literal sense of the words; but this making of itself no perfect sense, together with what is to be understood and supplied, is the literal and complete sense of the phrase: for though it is but partially expressed, yet the rest is necessarily implied and hinted to us; the occasion, and common use, together with the words which are expressed, actually raising in our minds that part which, on these accounts, it was not so necessary to set down at large, and therefore might safely be omitted: and the idea which is thus necessarily raised in the mind, is the direct natural, and consequently the literal sense of the phrase.

I am inclined to believe, in general, it is a mistake to suppose words have more than one signification; and that words or sentences are probably never to be understood, but in their literal sense. And though it be true, that sentences sometimes are not to be taken according to the letter of those words only which are expressed, yet those words can by no means be supposed to lose or alter their sense, and receive a new one; but the true full sense, which is there elliptically expressed, is to be made up, as the literal sense of the words used, and common custom, &c. shall direct.

But I have dwelt too long, perhaps, on these things, and might have spared my remarks to you, sir, who have read with so much penetration and care the works of that excellent philosopher, the late ingenious Mr. Locke, and what he has so judiciously written in the third book of his *Essay on Human Understanding*, concerning the nature and use of words and languages, by which you are undoubtedly raised above my remarks. But I judged

it convenient to recall these things to your mind, though you might know them before; and to acquaint you, that I believe these observations, fairly applied, will remove the imaginary difficulty of proving βαπτίζω signifies only *to dip* or *put into*, &c. and that no single instance can be produced to the contrary.

Before I dismiss this matter, I will render what I design, by distinguishing between the literal sense of the words, and the literal sense of the whole phrase, more obvious. I proposed to shew by it, that in reality these and all such passages, whatever may be fancied to the contrary, are to be understood literally, and according to the strict proper sense of the words. For though taking the words as they stand, they cannot be true, nor indeed have any sense at all; as to talk of dipping a thing that is not capable of being dipped, is nonsense: yet taking the same words to be, as common use has made them, an ellipsis; it is but supplying the other words which are included, and the sense and construction become very easy; and it appears the whole phrase, and every particular word, is to be understood literally.

I think it plainly enough follows from all, that words, even in figurative constructions, are to be understood literally; and that in these, and all such like passages, βάπτω, βαπτίζω, &c., signify nothing else but *to dip*, &c. However, if notwithstanding all I have said, you should believe I have not wholly taken away the supposed difficulty, yet since these observations must be allowed applicable to the cases in dispute, and fairly explain and unravel the meaning of these and all such forms of

speech in so easy and feasible a manner, it is an unavoidable inference;

1. That these instances, which sincerely I think as good as any that can be brought against us, have no force at all: for the easy rational account I have given of them, will go far enough at least to render them so obscure and doubtful, as to be no counter-proof; and I am persuaded every impartial antagonist will own they carry the point much further, and are strongly on my side. And,

2. That my assertion remains in full force, notwithstanding those instances which may be offered to the contrary; and if so, then it is easy to see on which side the advantage lies: for these doubtful obscure passages at most, are all the strength our adversaries have; whereas we, on the contrary, have a greater number of such as are clear and infallible, where the word can only signify *to dip*, which I shall now go on to prove.

Aristophanes, for I have not yet done with him, though he may perhaps seem to give room for some men to cavil in one place or two, which nevertheless you see how fully we are able to account for, affords us convincing instances, that he thought the true signification of the word was only *to dip*. In his hated comedy of *The Clouds*, designed, with too much success, to expose and ridicule the great *Socrates*, the philosopher is supposed gravely to busy himself, in computing how many times the distance between two of its legs a flea sprung at one leap; and in order to measure the distance between the two legs, one of his pupils is made to describe him using this method: ‘He first melts a piece of wax, and ‘then taking the flea, he dipped, *ἐνέβαψεν*, two of

‘its feet into its,’ &c. The other part of this ridiculous experiment is nothing to our purpose, and therefore I omit it.

Another passage you have in his play, entitled Peace, ‘Bring me hither the torch,’ says one, ‘and I will dip it, ἐμβάψω<sup>h</sup>.’ To understand this it will be necessary to observe the poet introduces some persons about to sacrifice to the goddess Peace; and, among other ceremonies, he mentions this of the torch as one: now if you please to remember, sir, the ancient manner of purifying among the Grecians, by a lighted torch, you will grant it was performed by dipping the torch in water, and so sprinkling the persons or things concerned; and it is to this effect the Greek scholiast explains it, as does Florent. Christianus in his note on this place, who was the learned preceptor to Henry IV. of France, and is honoured with a very handsome eulogy by the admirable M. De Thou<sup>i</sup>.

There is another passage in Aristophanes very strong to the same purpose, which however some perhaps may fancy favours the contrary: it is in his Parliament of Women. ‘First,’ says he, ‘they wash, (βάπτουσι,) or dip the wool in warm water, ‘according to old custom<sup>k</sup>.’ Here the word implies *washing*, as Mr. Wall would have it; and no doubt if he knows of this place, he thinks it mightily for

<sup>ε</sup> Κηρὸν διατήξας, εἶτα τὴν ψύλλαν λαβὼν,

Ἐνέβαψεν εἰς τὸν κηρὸν αὐτῆς τὰ πόδε. Nubes, 149.

<sup>h</sup> Φέρε δὴ, τὸ δαδίον τόδ’ ἐμβάψω λαβὼν. Pax, 959.

<sup>i</sup> [See Thuanus’ History, book 117, at the year 1596.—Vol. v. p. 643. of the folio edition, London, 1733.]

<sup>k</sup> . . . . . Πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ τάρια

βάπτουσι θερμῷ κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον νόμον. Eccles. 215.

his purpose, and especially if he has but found that Suidas<sup>m</sup> and Phavorinus<sup>n</sup> interpret it by *πλύνουσι*, which Pliny, on another occasion, renders *eluant*, i. e. *they wash out*; and Stephens<sup>o</sup> says it signified *lavo*, and is peculiarly spoken of garments, &c. as *λούω* is of the body, and *νίπτω* of the hands and feet. These things may seem of great force, and please Mr. Wall, it may be, and a great many more; but I believe you understand this better, sir, than to lay any stress upon it. Mr. Wall indeed finds 'the sacramental washing' is expressed by words, which signify washing in 'the ordinary and general sense<sup>p</sup>;' and therefore he infers, *baptize* is not to be limited in its signification to *dip* only; much more then will he insist on this of Aristophanes, which in itself plainly speaks of washing, and is by the Greek lexicographers interpreted by a word which is always so used. But you must needs perceive, sir, instead of prejudicing, this will be found greatly to confirm my cause; for in washing, wool is and must be dipped and put into the water; and that this is the sense of the word here, I appeal even to Suidas and Phavorinus, whose gloss I am very well pleased with.

For though *πλύνω* (from whence perhaps comes our English word *plunge*) does signify to wash, it is so far from excluding, that it necessarily implies *dipping*; and accordingly we see it is appropriated to clothes, &c., which are dipped into the water when they are washed. Homer has a verse very clear to this effect, where *πλύνειν* is explained, *εἴματ' ἄγεσθαι εἰς ποταμόν*, 'to carry and put them into the river<sup>q</sup>;' and

<sup>m</sup> Ad voc. *βάπτουσι*.

<sup>n</sup> Pag. 352.

<sup>o</sup> Ad voc. *πλύνω*.

<sup>p</sup> Part ii. p. 220. [329.]

<sup>q</sup> Odyss. ζ'. v. 58.

a little after<sup>r</sup>, he describes their manner of washing by a word which expresses the fullers' custom, says Stephens, of treading things in the water; *στεῖβον, ἐπάτουν*, says Pseudo-Didymus, *ἐν βόθροισι*, 'they tread them in great stone basons,' and they must certainly then be first put into the water; agreeable with this, *πλύντρια* is a washerwoman, or laundress, in Pollux. It appears now plainly enough from all this, that if the word does signify *to wash* here, it is only *ex consequenti*, and means such a washing as implies *dipping*, and is performed by it; and therefore this can be of no service to Mr. Wall, unless to convince him of his mistake.

Besides these passages, Harpocration<sup>a</sup> has preserved a fragment of one of Aristophanes' comedies, which are lost; the words are these: 'When I have dipped, I will cite the stranger before the judges<sup>t</sup>.' This passage would have been very obscure, and I do not know whether any thing would have given light to it, if Suidas had not attempted it; for I take this to be the passage he refers to, when he says, 'When I have dipped the oar<sup>u</sup>,' &c., which helps us to the sense of the word *βάψας* in this place, though it does not clear up the whole; or perhaps, says he, 'it may be a metaphor taken from the dyers, who say, for instance, I will dip it, and make it a black' Athenæus has preserved two other fragments of the same author, in which this word occurs; one is, 'What a wretch am I, to be thus dipped over head and ears (*ἀπεβάφθη*) in brine like a pickled herring?

<sup>r</sup> Odyss. ζ'. v. 92.

<sup>a</sup> Ad voc. *Ναυτοδίκας*.

<sup>t</sup> *Ἐξ Δαιταλεῦσω. Ἔθελον βάψας πρὸς Ναυτοδίκας ξένον ἐξαίφνης.*

<sup>u</sup> *Βάψας τὴν κέπην ἐπλευσας, ἐλθὼν πρὸς τοὺς Ναυτοδίκας, &c. [in voce βάψας.]*

I know nothing of the occasion of these words, and therefore can only say in general, the sense of the word ἀπεβάφθη seems apparent enough. The other fragment is more obscure, and I cannot determine the word by any circumstances to one side or the other, and for that reason I omit it.

I will now bring you an instance or two from Aristotle, who abounds with them; but a few may suffice. In his Treatise of the Soul, lib. iii. cap. 12, he says, 'If a man dips (βάπτει) any thing into wax, 'as far as it is dipped, it is moved<sup>x</sup>.' Here it is impossible to question the meaning of the word, any more than in these following instances; as where he says a certain sort of fish 'cannot bear any great 'alterations, for example, to be put into (βάπτουσιν) 'a colder water in summer'; and that the flux in elephants is cured, 'by giving them warm water to 'drink, and hay dipped (βάπτοντες) in honey to eat<sup>x</sup>.' Again, speaking of a kind of serpent bred in Africa, he says, those who are bit by it, use for a remedy a certain 'stone found in the sepulchre of one of their 'ancient kings, which they put into (ἀποβάψαντες) the 'wine they drink<sup>x</sup>.' In another place he mentions a pool of Sicily (of the same nature with the lake Agnano, near the Grotto del Cani, in the neighbourhood of Naples) 'into which if birds and other animals are put, (ἀποβαφῇ,) after they are strangled,

<sup>x</sup> Εἰ εἰς κηρὸν βάψει τις, μέχρι τούτου ἐκινήθη, ἕως ἔβαψε.

<sup>y</sup> Hist. Animal. lib. viii. ch. 2. fin. Καὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς δ' οὐχ ὑπομένουσι τὰς ἰσχυρὰς, οἷον καὶ τοῖς θέρουσιν ἐὰν βάπτωσιν εἰς ψυχρὸν.

<sup>z</sup> Ibid. ch. 26. Καὶ τὸν χόρτον εἰς μέλι βάπτοντες, διδάσκειν ἐσθίειν, &c.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. ch. 29. Οὐ καὶ λέγεται ἄκος εἶναι λίθος τις, ὃν λαμβάνουσιν ῥπὸ τάφου βασιλέως τῶν ἀρχαίων, καὶ ἐν οἷῳ ἀποβάψαντες, πίνουσι.



‘they immediately recover<sup>b</sup>.’ He says also, ‘It is the custom of some nations, in order to harden their children, to dip them (ἀποβάπτειν) into cold water, soon after they are born<sup>c</sup>.’ These passages are so very plain, they want no illustration.

But there is another place in this author, and I remember no other in all his works, which may seem to have some difficulty in it, and therefore I will be so fair as to mention it. Speaking of several strange narrations, he says, ‘The Phœnicians, who inhabit Cadiz, relate, that sailing beyond Hercules’ pillars, in four days, with the wind at east, they came to a land uninhabited, whose coast was full of sea-weeds, and is not laid under water (βαπτίζεσθαι) at ebb; but when the tide comes in, it is wholly covered and overwhelmed<sup>d</sup>.’ Βαπτίζεσθαι being used here to signify the land was under water, by the waters coming in upon it, and not by its being put into the water, some perhaps may think it a considerable objection; but it will be found of no advantage to our adversaries, if it be observed, that it here necessarily and unavoidably imports to be under water, or to be overwhelmed or covered with water; which no way suits our English pædobaptists, but is very

<sup>b</sup> De Mirabil. Auscult. non longe ab initio. Περὶ Σικελίαν δὲ φασιν εἶναι ὕδατος συστρεμμάτων, εἰς δὲ τὰ πεπνιγμένα τῶν ὀρνέων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ζῴων ὅταν ἀποβαφῇ, πάλιν ἀναβιοῖ. [c. 29.]

<sup>c</sup> De Republic. lib. vii. c. 17. init. Διὸ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἐστὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἔθος τοῖς μὲν εἰς ποταμὸν ἀποβάπτειν τὰ γιγνόμενα ψυχρὸν, &c.

<sup>d</sup> De Mirabil. Auscult. Λέγουσι περὶ Φοίνικας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὰ Γάδειρα καλούμενα, ἔξω πλέοντας Ἑρακλείων σπηλῶν ἀπηλιώτη ἀνέμφῃ ἡμέρας τέτταρας, παραγίνεσθαι εἰς τινὰς τόπους ἐρήμους, θρύου καὶ φύκους πλήρεις, οὓς ὅταν μὲν ἀμπωτὶς ᾗ μὴ βαπτίζεσθαι, ὅταν δὲ πλημμύρα, κατακλύζεσθαι, &c. [c. 136.]

agreeable with what the antipædobaptists, and the whole Greek church, (which one would imagine should understand the force of the word,) at this day continue to practise; and this being the plain sense of this place, it is natural enough to say, *as it were*, or *in a manner*, or some such expression is to be understood.

Besides, the word βαπτίζω, perhaps, does not so necessarily express the action of putting under water, as in general a thing's being in that condition, no matter how it comes so, whether it is put into the water, or the water comes over it; though indeed to put it into the water is the most natural way and the most common, and is therefore usually and pretty constantly, but it may be not necessarily, implied. However that be, the place makes nothing at all for our adversaries; and therefore, as they will not insist on it, I will dismiss it, when I have desired you, if you believe there is any difficulty remaining, to consider it impartially, and examine it by the rules I laid down for understanding metaphorical, elliptical, &c. forms of speech.

Heraclides Ponticus, a disciple of Aristotle's, may help us also in fixing the sense of the word; for moralizing the fable of Mars' being taken in a net by Vulcan, he says, ' Neptune is ingeniously supposed to deliver Mars from Vulcan, to signify, ' that when a piece of iron is taken red-hot out of ' the fire, and put into the water, (βαπτίζεται,) the ' heat is repelled and extinguished by the contrary ' nature of the water\*.'

\* Allegor. p. 495. Ποσειδῶν δ' ὁ ῥυόμενος παρ' Ἡφαίστου τὸν Ἄρη, πιθανῶς. Ἐπειδήπερ ἐκ τῶν βαρυύσων διάπυρος ὁ τοῦ σιδήρου

I should have quoted Herodotus before, but having somehow or other forgot him in his proper place, give me leave to transcribe a passage or two out of him here. In the fourth book of his History, describing the customs of the Scythians; ‘Always,’ says he, ‘when they conclude an alliance with any one, they ratify it in this manner: they fill a large earthen vessel with wine, and mingle into it blood drawn from each party, by making an incision in their flesh with a sword; into this they dip a scimitar, some arrows, a pole-axe, and a javelin, and then with many horrid imprecations, they who treat the league, and the chief persons of the company, drink up the mixture<sup>f</sup>.’ In another place, speaking largely of the customs and antiquities of the Ægyptians, he says, ‘Swine are counted such unclean beasts among them, that if an Ægyptian does but touch one in passing, he runs to the river, and dips (ἔβαψε) himself in it, with his clothes<sup>g</sup>.’

Theocritus<sup>h</sup> uses the word in the same manner,

μύδρος δλκυσθεῖς, ὕδατι βαπτίζεται, καὶ τὸ φλογῶδες ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως ὕδατι κατασβεθὲν ἀναπαύεται.

<sup>f</sup> Melpomen. p. 154. Ὅρκια δὲ ποιεῦνται Σκύθαι ὧδε, πρὸς τοὺς ὧν ποιέονται· ἐς κύλικα μεγάλῃν κεραμίνην οἶνον ἐγχέαντες, αἷμα συμμίσχουσι τῶν τὰ ὄρκια ταμνομένων, τύψαντες, ὅπῃσι ἢ ἐπιταμόντες μαχαίρῃ σμικρὸν τοῦ σώματος· καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποβάψαντες ἐς τὴν κύλικα ἀκινάκεια, καὶ διστοὺς, καὶ σάγαριν, καὶ ἀκόντιον. ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, κατεύχονται πολλὰ, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποπίνουσι αὐτοὶ τε οἱ τὸ ὄρκιον ποιούμενοι, καὶ τῶν ἐπομένων οἱ πλείστου ἄξιοι. [lib. IV. c. 70.]

<sup>g</sup> Euterpe, p. 68. Ὅν δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι μιὰρὸν ἤγηνται θηρίον εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ἦν τις ψάσῃ αὐτῶν παριὼν ὕδρ, αὐτοῖσι ἱματίοισι ἀπ’ ὧν ἔβαψε ἑωυτὸν, βὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν. [II. c. 47.]

<sup>h</sup> ..... καὶ τὸ ποτ’ ὄρθρον

ἀ παῖς ἀνθ’ ὕδατος τὰν κάλπιδά κηρία βάψαι. Idyll. V. 126.

when he says, 'Every morning, instead of water, 'my maid shall dip me (*βάψαι*) a cup of honey;' that is, shall fill me a cup of honey. Here *βάψαι* implies her dipping the cup into some large vessel of honey, and can signify neither to *wash* nor *pour*, &c., nor any thing else but *dip*. As again, where he says, 'the lad let down a mighty pitcher, 'and made haste to dip it, (*βάψαι*,) viz. in the 'water!'

Moschus, cautioning against Cupid's treacheries and arrows, says, 'They are deceitful all, and presents dipped (*βέβηπται*) in fire:' that is, as some nations usually dip their arrows in the rankest poisons, to render the wounds they give incurable; so Cupid's are, as it were, dipped in fire, to create pain and anguish.

As near as I can remember, most of the instances which follow are plain and easy, like those immediately preceding; so that I shall but just mention them, (except when I come to Callimachus,) and add no exposition. If this prove tiresome and insipid, you cannot censure me, since you have engaged me to give you so particular an account of the word, which could not be done without being tiresome both to yourself and me.

I do not know whether Aratus, in his *Phænomena*, uses the word above three times. One is in describing the setting of the constellation Cephæus, in the latitude of about sixty-nine or seventy degrees, where he calls it, 'dipping, (*βάπτων*,) or 'plunging his upper parts into the sea<sup>k</sup>.' And the

<sup>i</sup> "Ἦτοι δ' αὖ κούρος ἐπέιχε ποτὶ πολυχανδέα κρωσσὸν  
βάψαι ἐπειγόμενος. Idyll. XIII. 46.

<sup>k</sup> . . . . . τὰ μὲν εἰς κεφαλὴν μάλα πάντα  
βάπτων ὠκεανοῖο. V. 650.

Latins frequently interpret the word, as Ovid does <sup>1</sup>, by *mergo* in these cases. And again, giving that same rule for judging of the weather, which our Lord mentions, Matt. xvi. 2, Aratus says, ‘ But if ‘ the sun dips (βάπτοι) himself without a cloud into ‘ the western sea <sup>m</sup>,’ &c. Lastly, repeating more prognostications of the weather, ‘ If the crow dips ‘ (ἐβάψατο) his head into the river <sup>n</sup>,’ &c.

My opinion is confirmed also by Callimachus, in his hymns, when he says, ‘ Ye Grecian water- ‘ women,’ (they furnished private houses with water, as some do among us,) ‘ dip not your vessels in the ‘ river Inachus to-day <sup>o</sup>.’ The hymn was made on the solemnizing the festival of washing the statue of Pallas; which ceremony was performed by persons set apart for that purpose, in the river Inachus, a little before day; from this river the inhabitants were usually supplied with water, which makes the poet, in veneration to the goddess, charge the water-women here not to dip their pitchers in the river on that day. This is clearly the sense, and therefore they who have translated it by *lavate*, ‘ wash,’ consonant with Mr. Wall’s notion of the word, are grossly mistaken: and I wonder Theodorus Grævius, who began, and his incomparable father, who completed, the late curious edition of this author, have left this fault untouched; especially if they were timely enough possessed of that immense trea-

<sup>1</sup> Ante tamen quam summa dies spectacula sistat,

Ensifer Orion æquore mersus erit. Fast. IV. 80.

<sup>m</sup> Εἰδ’ ὁ μὲν ἀνέφελος βάπτοι ῥόδου ἐσπερίῳ, &c. V. 858.

<sup>n</sup> Ἦπον καὶ ποταμοῖο ἐβάψατο μέχρι παρ’ ἄκρους

Ὠμούς ἐκ κεφαλῆς, &c. V. 951.

<sup>o</sup> Σάμερον ὑδροφόροι μὴ βάπτετε. In Lavacr. Pallad. v. 45.

sury, the illustrious baron Spanheim's *Remarks on Callimachus*, who particularly corrects this error, with great solidity of argument. Politian too had rendered it very justly by *tingite*, 'dip,' and did not deserve the censure of that honourable critic, though indeed he has treated him with his usual decency and mildness; for as baron Spanheim himself notes, the old scholiast on Nicander, who has used the word just in the same manner as Callimachus here does, interprets it by γέμιζε, which signifies *to fill*; and this must be done by dipping. This, if possible, is still more evident from the passage I just now cited from Theocritus, 'The boy let down his 'mighty pitcher in haste to dip it'.' And Aristophanes expresses the same sense, though on another occasion, thus; 'With pitchers fetch me water from 'the river'.' And so Aristotle uses αἶπειν, on the like occasion, *Quæst. Mechanic.* c. 29. And Constantine observes from an epigram of Hermolaus, ἐς ὕδατα κρώσσον ἐβάψε, 'He dipped his pitcher in the 'water.' The mysterious Lycophron affords us an instance parallel to this in Callimachus; 'dipping ' (βάψαντας) with strange and foreign buckets': and Canterus renders the word here by *tingentes*, as Politian has done in Callimachus, which is certainly the true and literal sense. And the Greek scholiast on Euripides, who uses the word likewise exactly to the same purpose, in the place above cited, says expressly, as I there transcribed him\*, 'βάπτειν sig-

P\* Ἡτοι ὁ κούρος ἐπέιχε ποτῶ πολυχανδέα κρωσσόν

βάψαι ἐπειγόμενος.

Idyll. XIII. 46.

q Κάλπισί τ' ἐκ ποταμῶν δρόσον ἄρατε.

Ran. Act. 5. Scen. 2.

r Κρωσσοῖσιν ὀθνεῖοισι βάψαντας γάνος. Cassandr. v. 1365.

\* Βάπτειν ἐστὶ τὸ χαλᾶν τι εἰς ὕδωρ, ἢ εἰς ἄτερον τι ὑγρόν.

‘nifies to let or put down into water;’ and yet at the same time he interprets βάψασα, *dipping*, (Euripides’ word,) by γεμίσασα, *filling*; which shews he understood it in that and other such places, to signify *to fill by dipping*.

To this may be added what Aristotle says in his Mechanical Questions †, ‘The bucket must be first ‘let down, or dipped (βάψαι,) and then be drawn up ‘again,’ viz. when it is full. When his excellency, therefore, corrects Politian, and renders the word here by *haurite*, as Scaliger has done that in Lycophron by *haurientes*; he is not to be supposed to mean it does not signify *to dip*, in that place, but only that the Latin *tingo* does not so fully and properly express the poet’s sense as *haurio* does; and so though *tingo*, by a metalepsis, is the true sense of βάπτω, (for as Vossius remarks ‡, ‘Immersion is ‘before tinging, for things are tinged by it,) yet *haurio* is more proper when we speak of drawing or taking up water out of a river. Ovid uses it thus; Fastor. lib. iv.

‘Et manibus puram fluminis hausit aquam.’

‘And with her hands she scooped the crystal flood.’

In this passage it is obvious, that by ‘manibus ‘aquam haurire,’ he must necessarily mean, ‘to take ‘up water in the hands, by dipping them into it:’ and so the phrase includes dipping, as undoubtedly those great men designed it should, when they translated βάπτω by *haurio*, as the aptest Latin word, and exactly in the same sense as Ovid here uses it.

A thing of this nature, and so evident, did not

† Cap. 29. Βάψαι γὰρ δεῖ, καὶ τοῦτ’ ἄνω ἐλκύσαι.

‡ Etymologic. ad voc. Baptismus. Posterior est immersione tinctura, quia hæc immersione fit.

indeed need to have been so largely treated as it has already been : but the unaccountable tenacity of our antagonists, together with your commands, have made it necessary to be very particular, and therefore I must proceed to add some few instances more.

Dionysius Halicarnassæus, describing the warm duel between Aruns and Brutus, has this expression \*; ‘ One thrust his spear (βάψας) between the ‘ other’s ribs, who at the same instant pushed his ‘ into his enemy’s belly.’ In the life of Homer, which that excellent philologist Dr. Gale has proved † to have been written by this Dionysius, we have a very remarkable passage. The biographer is pointing out some of the innumerable beauties in Homer’s incomparable poems, and takes notice particularly of one in the sixteenth Iliad, v. 333, where Ajax is described killing Cleobulus ‡ : ‘ He struck him across ‘ the neck with his heavy sword : and the whole ‘ sword became warm with the blood,’ says the poet. By which is emphatically expressed, how much the sword was dipped in (ἐβαπτίσθη), (as Pseudo-Didymus explains it,) and wet with blood. And Dionysius’ words, for the sake of which I mention this, are these § : ‘ In that phrase, Homer expresses himself ‘ with the greatest energy, signifying, that the sword ‘ was so dipped (βαπτισθέντος) in blood, that it was ‘ even heated by it.’

\* Antiq. Rom. lib. v. p. 278. ‘Ο μὲν εἰς τὰς πλευρὰς βάψας τὴν αἰχμὴν, ὃ δὲ εἰς τὰς λαγόνas.

† Præfat. ad Opuscul. Mythologic.

‡ — Πλήξας ξίφει αὐχένα κωπήεντι

Πᾶν δ’ ὑπεθερμάνθη ξίφος αἵματι. —

§ Vit. Homer. p. 297. Πᾶν δ’ ὑπεθερμάνθη ξίφος αἵματι. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ παρέχει μείζονα ἔμφασιν, ὥς βαπτισθέντος οὕτω τοῦ ξίφους ὥς τε θερμανθῆναι.



Strabo is very plain in several instances: speaking of the lake near Agrigentum, a town on the south shore of Sicily, now called Gergenti, he says, 'Things which otherwise will not swim do not sink (*βαπτίζεσθαι*) in the water of this lake, but float like wood<sup>b</sup>.' And there is a rivulet in the south parts of Cappadocia, he tells us, 'whose waters are so buoyant, that if an arrow is thrown in, it will hardly sink or be dipped (*βαπτίζεσθαι*) into them<sup>c</sup>.' Again, speaking of the daring attempt of Alexander at Phaselis, at the foot of Climax, a mountain in Lycia, between which and the sea the passage is very narrow, he observes, that at high-water, and especially in winter, at which time Alexander was there, it is overflowed by the sea; but notwithstanding, the king, impatient of delays, led on his army, and 'the soldiers marched a whole day through the water, dipped (*βαπτίζομένων*) up to the waist<sup>d</sup>.' In another place, ascribing the fabulous properties of the Asphaltites to the lake Sirbon, he says, 'the bitumen floats a-top, because of the nature of that water, which admits no diving; for if a man goes into it, he cannot sink, or be dipped, (*βαπτίζεσθαι*,) but is forcibly kept above<sup>e</sup>.' Take one instance more from this author, who a little after, in the same book, mentions a sort of wild

<sup>b</sup> Lib. vi. p. 421. Οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς ἀκολύμβοις βαπτίζεσθαι συμβαίνει, ξύλων τρόπον ἐπιπολάζουσιν.

<sup>c</sup> Lib. xii. p. 809. Τῷ δὲ καθιέντι ἀκόντιον ἄνωθεν εἰς τὸν βόθρον, ἢ βία τοῦ ὕδατος ἀντιπράττει τοσοῦτον, ὥστε μόλις βαπτίζεσθαι.

<sup>d</sup> Lib. xiv. p. 982. Καὶ ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ὕδασι γενέσθαι τὴν πορείαν συνέβη, μέχρι ὀμφαλοῦ βαπτίζομένων.

<sup>e</sup> Lib. xvi. p. 1108. Εἴτ' ἐπιπολάζουσα διὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ὕδατος ἦν ἔφαμεν, μηδὲ κολύμβον δεῖσθαι, μηδὲ βαπτίζεσθαι τὸν ἐμβάντα, ἀλλ' εἰραίνεσθαι.

Arabs, whom he calls elephantophagi, or elephant-eaters; some of whom, among other artifices, he tells you they made use of to catch the elephant, 'kill him with arrows dipped (*βεβαμμένοις*) in the 'gall of serpents'.

Plutarch, in his treatise concerning the education of children, advises not to overtask them; and adds: 'I have known some fathers, who through 'excessive fondness, have not truly loved their children at all. To make myself better understood by 'an instance: being eager to have their children 'early admired, and excel in all things, they lay 'burdens on them that bear no proportion to their 'strength, and only serve to oppress and jade them. 'And when they are thus fatigued, it is impossible 'their minds should improve: for as plants thrive 'and flourish when they are moderately watered, 'but wither and pine away if you drench them too 'much; so the mind, if moderately exercised with 'labours proportionable to its abilities, grows more 'vigorous; but too much toil (*βαπτίζεται*) as it were 'drowns and overwhelms it<sup>s</sup>.'

If this passage should seem to be a little obscure, I must refer you, sir, to what I have said before,

<sup>f</sup> Lib. xvi. p. 1117. *Τίνες δὲ καὶ τοξεύμασιν ἀναιροῦσιν αὐτοὺς χολῇ βεβαμμένοις ὄφρων ὀιστοῖς.*

<sup>s</sup> Page 15. *Ἦδη δὲ τινες ἐγὼ εἶδον πατέρας οἷς τὸ λίαν φιλεῖν τοῦ μὴ φιλεῖν αἴτιον κατέστη. τί οὖν ἐστὶν ὃ βούλομαι λέγειν; ἵνα τῇ παραδείγματι φωτεινότερον ποιήσω τὸν λόγον. σπεύδοντες γὰρ τοὺς παῖδας ἐν πᾶσι τάχιον πρωτεύσαι, πόνους αὐτοῖς ὑπερμέτρους ἐπιβάλλουσιν, οἷς ἀπαυδῶντες ἐμπίπτουσι, καὶ ἄλλως βαρυνόμενοι ταῖς κακοπαθείαις, οὐ δέχονται τὴν μάθησιν εὐηνίως. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰ φυτὰ τοῖς μὲν μετρίοις ὕδασι τρέφεται, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς πνίγεται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ψυχὴ τοῖς μὲν συμμέτροις αὖξεται πόνοις, τοῖς δ' ὑπερβάλλουσι βαπτίζεται.*

which will effectually take away all the difficulty, and which I need not repeat. But I will give another instance from Plutarch, that shall be evident enough. Relating the stratagem of a Roman general a little before he died of his wound, he says, that ‘he set up a trophy, on which having dipped (*βαπτίσας*) ‘his hand in blood, he wrote this inscription<sup>b</sup>,’ &c.

I have almost tired myself, and will mention but two or three places more. Take one from Lucian; who describing the cruel, inhuman disposition of Timon, that monstrous Athenian, who bore a professed inconceivable hatred to human kind, makes him express himself thus: ‘Should I see any one,’ says he, ‘in the midst of raging flames, just ready ‘to take hold on him; and should he earnestly beg ‘me to put out the fire, I would pour on pitch and ‘oil: if a man were hurried down a rapid stream, ‘and with outstretched hands cried to me for help, ‘I would thrust him down when sinking (*βαπτίζοντα*); ‘he never should rise again<sup>i</sup>.’

The pious emperor Marcus Antoninus, in his admirable Meditations, uses the word whose sense we are settling, several times; but I think always metaphorically; so that, indeed, it is not very fair to argue from those passages. However, lest my adversaries should imagine they make against me, I will touch upon them.

<sup>b</sup> Parall. Græc. Rom. p. 545. Καὶ εἰς τὸ αἷμα τὴν χεῖρα βαπτίσας, ἕστησε τρόπαιον ἐπιγράψας, &c.

<sup>i</sup> Lucian, vol. i. p. 139. Εἰ δέ τινα ἴδοιμι ἐν πυρὶ διαφθερόμενον, καὶ σβεννύναι ἱκετεύοντα, πῖττη καὶ ἐλαίῳ κατασβεννύναι· καὶ ἦν τινα τοῦ χειμῶνος ὁ ποταμὸς παραφέρειν, ὁ δὲ, τὰς χεῖρας ὀρέγων, ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι δέηται, ὠθεῖν καὶ τοῦτον ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν βαπτίζοντα, ὥς μὴ δὲ ἀνακύψαι δυνηθεῖν.

In the third book, he draws the character of such an one as he thinks may be reckoned a man of true merit; and says, he 'is not to be corrupted with pleasures, nor broken by misfortunes; unmoved with calumnies and slanders; a conqueror in that noble strife of mastering and subduing the passions, and (βεβαμμένον) dipped, as it were, in, or swallowed up with justice<sup>k</sup>;' that is, perfectly just; as we say, persons given up to their pleasures and vices, are immersed in, or swallowed up with, pleasures or wickedness. So it is in 1 Tim. vi. 9. *They that will be rich, fall into temptation, and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition.* Again, the imperial moralist says, 'Such as the thoughts are which you are most possessed with, such will your mind be; for the thoughts (βάπτεται) dip or tincture the mind; (βάπτει) dip, or tincture it, therefore, by accustoming yourself to such thoughts as these<sup>l</sup>,' &c. In the sixth book, and I think the word occurs no oftener in all these noble meditations, the emperor says, 'Do not make the former emperors the pattern of your actions, lest (βαφῆς) you are infected or stained<sup>m</sup>,' or as it were dipped and dyed, viz. in mistakes or vices. The period is extremely elliptical, and stands in need of these or such supplements to

<sup>k</sup> Section iv. p. 17. Τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀχραντον ἡδονῶν, ἀτραιτων ὑπὸ παντὸς πόνου, πάσης ὕβρεως ἀνέπαφον, πάσης ἀναίσθητον πονηρίας, ἀθλιγὴν ἄθλου τοῦ μεγίστου, τοῦ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς πάθους καταβληθῆναι, δικαιοσύνη βεβαμμένον εἰς βάθος.

<sup>l</sup> Lib. v. sect. 16. p. 41. Οἷα ἂν πολλάκις φαντασθῆς, τοιαύτη σοι ἔσται ἡ διάνοια· βάπτεται γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν φαντασιῶν ἡ ψυχὴ. βάπτει οὖν αὐτήν, τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῶν τοιούτων φαντασιῶν, &c.

<sup>m</sup> Sect. 30. pag. 52. Ὅρα μὴ ἀποκαισαρωθῆς, μὴ βαφῆς.

make<sup>n</sup> out the sense in another language, wherein that defective form is not in use.

I do not see any advantage our adversaries can possibly pretend to from these or any the like passages: that they are metaphorical none can question; nor, in my opinion, can it be doubted but they necessarily allude to, and imply *dipping*; for only in that sense of the word can the metaphor be justified, which, according to Cicero's rule<sup>n</sup>, is natural, and not too licentious.

But to pass this, I would only note, that Plato, in his admirable commentaries concerning government, has pursued this metaphor very closely, and thereby shewn us the propriety of it, and how expressive it is; for which reason I will transcribe him at large.

‘ The dyers, when they are about to dip a quantity of wool to make it of a purple colour, cull out the whitest of the fleece, and prepare and work it with a world of trouble, that it may the better take the grain; and then they dip it (*βάπτουσι*). The dye of things thus dipped is lasting and unchangeable, and cannot be fetched out and tarnished, either by fair water, or any preparations for discharging of colours. But things which are not dyed after this manner, you know what they are; no matter what dye they are dipped in (*βάπτῃ*), they never look well; without this preparation they take but a nasty colour, and that is easily washed out too. And thus in like manner our choosing soldiers, and instructing them in music, and those

<sup>n</sup> Ad Herenn. lib. iv. p. 57. Translationem pudentem esse oportere, ut cum ratione in consimilem rem transeat, ne sine delectu temere et cupide videatur in dissimilem transcurrisse.

‘ exercises which consist in agility of body, you must  
 ‘ imagine our design is only to make them the better  
 ‘ receive the laws, which are a kind of dye, that their  
 ‘ tempers being formed by a proper discipline may  
 ‘ be fixed and unalterable by terror, &c., and (*βαφήν*)  
 ‘ their tincture may not be washed out by any medi-  
 ‘ caments of the most powerfully expelling nature;  
 ‘ as pleasure, which is stronger to this effect than  
 ‘ any lye, as is likewise grief, fear, or desire, and the  
 ‘ like °.’

The figure, you see, sir, is maintained quite through the passage, by applying the dyers’ terms to the things of the mind. I find Gataker also has transcribed this place a little more at large, together with several others from Seneca, &c., to the same effect, in his learned note on the words above cited, in the 4th section of Antoninus’ third book; which if you think it needful you may be pleased to turn to, for they considerably illustrate my assertion.

° Plato de Republica, lib. iv. p. 637. E. Οἱ βαφεῖς ἐπειδὴν βου-  
 ληθῶσι βάψαι ἔρια, ὥστε εἶναι ἀλουργὰ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκλέγονται ἐκ το-  
 σούτων χρωμάτων μίαν φύσιν τὴν τῶν λευκῶν· ἔπειτα προπαρασκευάζου-  
 σιν οὐκ ὀλίγη παρασκευὴ θεραπεύσαντες, ὅπως δέξωνται ὅτι μάλιστα τὸ  
 ἄνθος· καὶ οὕτω δὴ βάπτουσι· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἂν τοῦτο τῷ τρόπῳ βαφῇ δει-  
 σοποιὸν γίγνεται τὸ βαφέν. καὶ ἡ πλῆσις οὐτ’ ἄνευ ῥυμμάτων οὔτε μετὰ  
 ῥυμμάτων δύναται αὐτῶν τὸ ἄνθος ἀφαιρεῖσθαι· ἃ δ’ ἂν μὴ, οἶσθα οἷα  
 γίγνεται, εἴαν τέ τις ἄλλα χρώματα βάπτῃ, εἴαν τε καὶ ταῦτα μὴ προσθε-  
 ραπέυσας· Οἶδα (ἔφη) ὅτι ἐκπλута καὶ γελοῖα. τοιοῦτον τοίνυν ὑπόλαβε  
 κατὰ δύναμιν ἐργάσεσθαι καὶ ἡμᾶς, ὅτε ἐξελεγόμεθα τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ  
 ἐπαιδεύομεν μουσικῇ καὶ γυμναστικῇ· καὶ μηδὲν οἷον ἄλλο μηχανᾶσθαι, ἢ  
 ὅπως ἡμῖν ὅτι κάλλιστα τοὺς νόμους πεισθέντες δέξονται, ὥσπερ βαφῇ  
 ἴνα δεισοποιὸς αὐτῶν ἡ δόξα γίγνοιτο καὶ περὶ δεινῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων· διὰ τὸ τὴν τε φύσιν καὶ τὴν τροφήν ἐπιτηδεῖαν ἐσχηκέναι· καὶ  
 μὴ αὐτῶν ἐκπλύναι τὴν βαφὴν τὰ ῥύμματα ταῦτα, δεινὰ δὲτα ἐκαλύψαι,  
 ἢ τε ἡδονή, παντὸς χαλαστραίου δεινότερα οὔσα τοῦτο δρᾶν καὶ κονίας,  
 λύπη, τε καὶ φόβος, καὶ ἐπιθυμία, παντὸς ἄλλου ῥύμματος.

But give me leave to add another passage much like the preceding one of Plato, which just comes into my mind; it is part of Lysis' Epistle to Hipparchus, published by the learned Dr. Gale, in his *Opuscula Mythologica*; speaking of Pythagoras' method with his pupils, 'As dyers,' says he, 'first cleanse and wash clothes which are to be dyed, in some astringent, that so they may take a more durable colour; in like manner, that great man used to prepare such as came to learn of him P,' &c. Mentioning of these metaphors gives me occasion to remember the words of Plutarch concerning Otho, whom Junius was soliciting Galba to nominate his successor in the empire; and though it is out of due order, as having dispatched Plutarch before, I will mention them here, the word βαπτίζω being used as figuratively as in the passage above; 'He was,' says Plutarch, 'over head and ears (βεβαπτισμένον) in debt q,' which is exactly our English phrase.

Pollux, in the work he composed for the service of the emperor Commodus, to teach him to speak Greek correctly, puts βαπτίζεσθαι<sup>r</sup> for a ship's being sunk and totally immersed in the sea.

I will add but one instance more, which shall be out of Themistius; who says, 'The pilot cannot

P Pag. 737. Καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ βαφεῖς προεκαθάραντες ἔστυψαν τὰ βάψιμα τῶν ἱματίων, ὅπως ἀνέκλυτον τὰν βαφὰν ἀναπίωντι, καὶ μηδέποκα γενησομένην ἐξέταλον· τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ δαιμόνιος τρόπον ἀνὴρ παρεσκεύαζε τὸς φιλοσοφίας ἐρασθέντας, ὅπως μὴ, &c.

q Moral. tom. iii. Galba, p. 1504. Καὶ πεντακισχιλίων μυριάδων ὀφλήμασι βεβαπτισμένον.

r Onomastic. lib. i. c. 9. Τὰ δὲ πάθη οὕτως ἂν εἴποις. χεῖμαζεσθαι, σαλεῖναι, ὠθεῖσθαι, ἀπωθεῖσθαι, παρασύρεσθαι, συγελύεσθαι, κατασύρεσθαι, ἢ καταδύεσθαι, βυπτίζεσθαι, ἀνατρέπεσθαι, &c.

‘tell but he may save one in the voyage, that had  
‘better be drowned<sup>a</sup>;’ (βαπτίσαι,) sunk into the sea.

Thus I put an end to my laborious task: you see, sir, how many examples I have produced, and I might easily enumerate as many more, from the authors I have named, and likewise from those I have wholly omitted; but I am wearied with heaping up dry sentences, only to get at the sense of a word, which I think sufficiently clear already, and altogether as plain of itself as any thing in the world can make it. Your expressly obliging me to this service is a very good excuse; and yet I can hardly forbear thinking I had need say something more, but that I consider it was apparently necessary to do as I have done, since some persons so confidently pretend, and withal so very unreasonably, that βαπτίζω does not always signify *to dip*; and among the rest Mr. Wall is one. He takes the liberty to say, ‘Mr. Walker has largely shewn from the Greek authors, and lexicographers and critics, that besides the signification *immergo*, they give it that of *lavo* in general.’ Whereas you see, sir, I have fully baffled all that is alleged from any passages in the Grecian writers: as to lexicographers and critics, were it so material, I could easily prove him to be very much mistaken there also: the Greek lexicographers afford him no ground at all for his pretence; and the most learned of the others, if they do interpret the word by *lavo*, do not mean, as he pretends, any washing in general, but only such as is performed by *dipping*: for they may render it well enough by

<sup>a</sup> Orat. iv. p. 133. Οὔτε ὁ κυβερνήτης, εἰ σώζει ἐν τῇ πλῆθὶ ὄν καὶ βαπτίσαι ἀμεινον ἦν.



*lavo*, the general word, which comprehends *mergo* the particular.

I know it signifies *to wash*, as a consequence of dipping; but so likewise it does *to wet, colour, dye, drown*, and *to poison*: it also signifies to put on Christ, and to be buried with him, as the apostle himself teaches us. But what I have further to say I must leave to my next.

I am, &c.

## LETTER IV.

CRITICS constantly affirm the proper and genuine sense of βαπτίζω is *immergo*, &c.—So Vossius, Constantine, and Stephanus render it—A testimony from Casaubon—His poor evasion—Another from Grotius—Another from Dionysius Petavius—It is needless to collect more—Mr. Wall conscious, notwithstanding his pretence, that the opinions of learned men are against him—Whereas Mr. Wall appeals to the Scriptures for the sense of the word, it is shewn largely to be never there used in his sense, but the contrary—Lev. xiv. 6. considered—That the word does not always necessarily signify to dip all over, is the most that can be inferred from it; besides, here it means to dip all over. Isa. xxi. 4; Ezek. xxiii. 15; Dan. iv. 33. and v. 21. considered—Hot climates very dewy—The Syriac version confirms our sense—Ecclus. xxxi. 26; 2 Macc. i. 21: Ecclus. xxxiv. 26. considered—The purification enjoined for touching that which is dead, to be performed by sprinkling—together with dipping—The Mahometans purify in such cases by washing all over—Washing was the main part of the purification among the Jews—For which reason the son of Sirach uses this word to intend the whole ceremony—Luke xi. 38. considered—Mr. Wall pretends the Jews always washed their hands, by having water poured on them: which is false—The priests washed their hands and feet by dipping them—Our Lord washed his disciples' feet so likewise—The authority of the rabbins not to be depended on—Dr. Pococke allows, the Jews were obliged sometimes to wash by dipping—And from thence accounts for the use of the word βαπτίζεσθαι, Mark vii. 4.—Mr. Wall's next instance, which is Mark vii. 4. considered—Those that came from the market did wash by dipping—Sects among the Jews who washed themselves frequently—The words may refer to the things brought from the market—Heb. ix. 10. and Matt. xxvi. 23. considered—The sacramental washing being expressed by words, which signify any kind of washing, does not prove it may therefore be administered by any kind of washing—Words, like our ideas, have their *genera* and *species*—Words of a more particular sense should explain the more general, and not the contrary.

SIR,

THE proper and genuine sense of βαπτίζω, the critics constantly affirm, is *immergo*, *mergo*, &c. Constantine almost always renders it so, and Stephens never fails to do it, and explains it to signify to *dye*, or *wash by dipping*<sup>a</sup>; till in another period he inclines to shew a little favour to the authority of the church and her practice, and to that end indeed interprets it by *lavo*, *abluo*, &c. But he confirms this exposition by no examples, except two from Scripture, Mark vii. 4. and Luke xi. 28, which we shall examine by and by, and some from the later ecclesiastical writers.

And yet, at the same time, he cannot forbear blaming such as use those words in relation to the Christian sacrament, and says expressly, ‘That Tertullian rendered it more properly by *mergitare*, ‘on account of the trine immersion in baptism, ‘retaining what the grammarians call the frequentative termination<sup>b</sup>.’

The great Vossius speaks exactly to the same purpose, and indeed almost in the same words; for without ever taking the least notice of *lavo*, or the like, he expressly says<sup>c</sup>, ‘Though βάπτω and βαπτίζω ‘are rendered by *mergo* or *mergito*, and *tingo*, yet ‘they properly signify *mergo* and *tingo* only by a

<sup>a</sup> Ad voc. βαπτίζω, ut quæ tingendi aut abluendi gratia aquæ immergimus.

<sup>b</sup> Ad voc. βαπτίζω. Tertullianus de Corona Militis, magis proprie interpretatus est *mergitare*, servata propter trinam immersionem, forma quam frequentativam grammatici vocant.

<sup>c</sup> Etymologic. in voc. Baptismus. Etsi autem βάπτω et βαπτίζω, tum *mergo*, vel *mergito*, tum *tingo* transferri soleant; proprie tamen *mergo* notant, et μεταληπτικῶς *tingo*.

'metalepsis,' i. e. as *tingo* implies *mergo*; and therefore he adds, 'Tinging follows immersion, and is 'done by it'<sup>d</sup>. Also in his Treatise of Baptism, as well as here, he translates the Greek word by *mergo*, and says again that is its proper signification; and, farther than this, that particularly when it relates to the Christian sacrament, it should of choice be rendered by *mergito*; as you may see in his *Etymologicon* at the word *baptismus*.

Casaubon, no inconsiderable judge in matters of this nature, is very express in his note on Matt. iii. 6. which being so remarkable, I will transcribe the whole passage: 'For the manner of baptizing,' says he, 'was to plunge or *dip* them into the water, 'as even the word βαπτίζειν itself plainly enough 'shews; which as it does not signify δύνειν, *to sink down and perish*, neither certainly does it signify 'ἐπιπολάζειν, (*to swim or float a-top*); these three 'words, ἐπιπολάζειν, βαπτίζειν, δύνειν, being very different. Hence it appears, that it was not without 'reason that some have long since insisted on the 'immersion of the whole body, in baptism, for 'which they urge the word βαπτίζειν. But their 'opinion is justly long since exploded, the force 'and energy of this sacred mystery not consisting 'in that circumstance<sup>e</sup>.' A very poor evasion for so

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. Nam posterior est immersione tinctura, quia hæc immersione fit.

<sup>e</sup> Hic enim fuit baptizandi ritus, ut in aquas immergerentur: quod vel ipsa vox βαπτίζειν declarat satis; quæ ut non significat δύνειν, quod est *fundum petere cum sua pernicie*, ita profecto non est ἐπιπολάζειν. Differunt enim hæc tria ἐπιπολάζειν, βαπτίζειν, δύνειν. Unde intelligimus non esse abs re quod jampridem nonnulli disputarunt de toto corpore immergendo in ceremonia baptismi: vocem enim βαπτίζειν urgebant. Sed horum sententia

great a man, after he had granted so much: he allows baptism was administered by immersion, and that CHRIST, when he commanded to baptize, commanded to *immerse*, or plunge, for that, he says, is the signification of the word: and now, after these concessions, he and all those who make so free with our LORD's institutions, as to pretend it is not necessary to perform them just as he has directed, should consider how they will be able to answer it, and whether it does not look a little too much like mocking him, when they deviate from what they know to be his command.

Grotius, than whom no man ever knew better, gives it on my side, in his Annotations on the same place, Matt. iii. 6. 'That this rite was wont to be performed by immersion, and not by perfusion, appears both by the propriety of the word, and the places chosen for its administration, John iii. 23, Acts viii. 38, and by the many allusions of the apostles, which cannot be referred to sprinkling, Rom. vi. 3, 4, Col. ii. 12. The custom of perfusion or aspersion seems to have obtained some time after, in favour of such who lying dangerously ill were desirous to dedicate themselves to CHRIST: these were called *clinics* by other Christians. See Cyprian's Epistle to Magnus to this purpose. Nor should we wonder that the old Latin Fathers use *tingere* for *baptizare*, seeing the Latin word *tingo* does properly and generally signify the same as *mersare*, to *immerse* or *plunge*!'

merito est jampridem explosa, cum non in eo posita sit mysterii hujus vis et *τέρτυα*.

'Mensatione autem non perfusione agi solitum hunc ritum

To the same purpose speaks the celebrated Dionysius Petavius, giving instances of the church's power to alter or impose: 'And indeed,' says he, 'immersion is properly styled βαπτισμός, though at present we content ourselves with pouring water on the head, which in Greek is called περίχυσις,' that is, *perichysm*, if I may so Anglicise, but not *baptism*.

But why do I spend time in transcribing these quotations, when there are such large collections already, which render this labour needless, and will make any modest person blush, to say in general, that critics and learned men allow of that pretended sense of the word? Mr. Stennet, in his answer to Russen, a book Mr. Wall has seen, and I wish he had considered it more impartially, for then I am satisfied he would have laid by his design, and there would have been no occasion for these letters; Mr. Stennet, I say, has furnished us with so many instances, both ancient and modern, of this nature, some of which are taken from the greatest men of the Church of England now living, or lately dead,

indicat et vocis proprietas, et loca ad eum ritum delecta, Joh. iii. 23; Act. viii. 38; et allusiones multæ apostolorum, quæ ad adspersionem referri non possunt, Rom. vi. 3, 4; Col. ii. 12. Serius aliquanto invaluisse videtur mos perfundendi sive aspergendi, in eorum gratiam qui in gravi morbo cubantes nomen dare CHRISTO expetebant, quos cæteri ελιτικοὺς vocabant. Vide Epist. Cypriani ad Magnum. Quod autem *tingere* pro *baptizare* usurpant Latini veteres mirum videri non debet, cum Latine *tingendi* vox et proprie et plerumque idem valeat quod *mersare*. Pag. 103.

§ Dogmat. Theologic. lib. ii. de Pœnitentia, cap. 1. §. 11. Ac sane immersio proprie dicitur βαπτισμός, cum hodie satis habeamus aquam capiti affundere, quod Græce dicitur περίχυσις.

that he makes the thing evident almost to demonstration; so that I am in no fear of being contradicted by the learned, who acknowledge all I plead for in this case.

And indeed you may be pleased to observe, sir, (though Mr. Wall ventures, with such an air of assurance to affirm, 'it is plainly a mistake<sup>b</sup>, to say 'that baptize means only dip, and that it appears 'to be so from the Greek writers and critics,' &c.) that he is certainly under some apprehension on this point, by his passing over this part of the argument so willingly: and which is something strange, and does not argue abundance of ingenuity, Mr. Wall, you may remember, produces the suffrages of several learned men, and pleads strongly himself for immersion, in the ninth chapter of his second part, where he confesses immersion is the more regular and convenient manner, and most agreeable to the example of CHRIST and the primitive church. But to qualify this concession, he adds indeed, that immersion is not so necessary to baptism, but it may be administered by affusion, &c., which looks to me like a contradiction of what he allowed before; for nothing certainly should be done in this case, but what is most regular and agreeable to the practice of CHRIST and his apostles; nothing should be ordinarily practised now, which is not so well as what was ordinarily practised then.

But to leave this: pray whence did Mr. Wall receive his knowledge that baptism may be administered by pouring, &c.? I have already largely, and, I think, beyond contradiction, proved, that

<sup>b</sup> Part ii. pag. 219. [328, 329.]

with the Greek authors, and other learned men, the word is never used to signify *pouring*, but always *dipping*. But it seems our author was aware of this, and therefore tells us, 'What the Greek writers 'and critics, &c. say, is not much to the purpose; 'for the sense of a Scripture-word is not to be taken 'from them, but from the use of it in Scripture';' from whence he pretends it may be plainly determined to signify *to wash* in general. But, notwithstanding he takes the liberty to assert this, I hope to prove he is in an error, and to fortify my proofs from the constant use of the word among the Greeks, with the authority of the Scripture too; and to shew it was thus only that the apostles and primitive Christians understood the word, and practised this sacred ordinance.

In the Seventy's translation of the Old Testament, and the Apocrypha too, I can find but twenty-five places where the words occur; and in eighteen of them they do undoubtedly mean *to dip*, as you will allow, if you read over the verses cited below<sup>k</sup>; for I do not think you are likely to make such a trifling remark on any passage, as Mr. Wall has on Levit. xiv. 6. He was endeavouring, if you remember, to shew from the Old Testament, that the word does not necessarily signify *to dip*; and quotes this place of Leviticus, than which nothing could be more directly against him; and observes thus: 'The word is βάψει, and the

<sup>i</sup> Part ii. p. 219, 220, [328, 329.]

<sup>k</sup> Exod. xii. 22; Lev. iv. 6, 17; ix. 9; xi. 32; xiv. 6, 16, 51; Numb. xix. 18; Deut. xxxiii. 24; Josh. iii. 15; Ruth ii. 14; 1 Sam. xiv. 27; and 2 Kings v. 14; viii. 15; Job ix. 31; Psalm lxxviii. 23; Judith xii. 7.



‘English *dip*, yet it cannot be understood dipping all over; for the blood of the bird in the bason could not be enough to receive the living bird, and the cedar wood, and the scarlet and the hyssop all into it!’ Now supposing this to be true, how does it prove the word does not signify *to dip*? The most he can infer from it, is only that it does not always necessarily mean *to dip all over*; and he should have been so just to his readers, as not to have confounded this with dipping in general; by this stratagem making such as are willing to believe it take this for a good plain objection, and (because it seems, as Mr. Wall represents the matter, not to mean that the living bird, &c., were dipped all over) to infer, the word in this place does not signify *to dip* at all. This, if any thing, must be his meaning here. But if he would not be so understood, it will be no easy thing to imagine what he can suppose the word does here signify. Undoubtedly he cannot mean that the bird, &c., were *poured* or *sprinkled* into the blood, or the like; and yet, if he would not allow the word to signify *to dip*, he ought at least to have told us what is the signification of it, and not have left us wholly in the dark.

Farther, to go on still with the supposition that the living bird, &c., could not be *dipped all over*; this does not affect our dispute, since we readily grant there may be such circumstances in some cases, which necessarily and manifestly shew the thing spoken of is not said to be dipped all over; but it does not therefore follow that the word in that place does not signify *to dip*, and I believe

<sup>1</sup> Part ii. p. 221. [The clause here animadverted on had been left out of his *second* edition by Dr. Wall.]

Mr. Wall will allow his pen is *dipped* in the ink, though it is not daubed all over, or *totally immersed*. So that after all he says, it still remains that the word does signify *to dip*.

Besides; I cannot see why it should be thought impossible for the living bird and the other things to be *dipped all over*. It is true, there appears some difficulty in it upon Mr. Wall's supposition, but that is grounded on a very gross mistake; for the order of purification in the case of leprosy was this; to take a quantity of water in an earthen bason, out of a fountain or running stream, which in the remotest times was always judged purest and most proper for their purification; over this vessel of fountain-water they killed the bird, so as to have the blood run into the water, and mix with it in the bason; and then the living bird, the hyssop, &c., were *dipped* into this mixture, which might be capable of receiving them all, though the blood alone, as our author says, was not. And since the Seventy translate verse 6 and verse 51 in the same manner, viz. *over running water*; and Jonathan's Targum too translates both in the same words, viz. *in blood and in water*, it is plain they understood the two Hebrew phrases to express the same thing.

I might confirm this account of the thing by the testimonies of the Jewish doctors, if they were of any authority; but as they are a very trifling sort of interpreters, of no credit, and never to be depended on, I reject them, and argue only from the reason of the thing, and the plain import of the words themselves, compared with ver. 51, where the dipping into the water, as well as into the blood, is mentioned, perhaps, more distinctly; but it is

plain to demonstration, from Heb. ix. 19. *For when Moses had spoken every precept to all the people according to the law, he took the blood of calves and of goats, with water, and scarlet wool, and hyssop, and sprinkled both the book, and all the people.* The utmost, I say, that could be inferred from this passage, is only that the word does not always necessarily imply a *total immersion*, or *dipping* the whole thing spoken of *all over*; which I readily allow: but then, sir, we should remember, it is not from any thing limiting the sense of βαπτίζω, but from something limiting the extent of the action in the subject, which directs us to apply the full sense of the word to one particular thing, or perhaps to one part of a thing only; for a synecdoche does not affect the verb, but the thing spoken of. Thus, to use the familiar instance I mentioned before, we say, *dip the pen*, meaning only the nib of it, which we really dip into ink; though the whole pen is not *dipped all over*, yet the part particularly referred to is, and the pen may be truly said to be *dipped*; according to that known rule, What is true of any one part, may be said of the whole complexly, though not of every part of the whole separately.

Of the twenty-five instances where the word is used in the Old Testament and Apocrypha, eighteen, you see, sir, are manifestly used to signify *to dip*. There would be no need to mention the other seven that remain, after what has been said, but that Mr. Wall insinuates, and would have it believed, that it may be abundantly proved from Scripture, that the word does not always mean *to dip*. These places which still remain, if there be any difficulty in them, may be easily accounted for by what I have

already said on some passages parallel to them; however, I must just mention them.

The Seventy have translated Isaiah xxi. 4. very loosely, and without any occasion use the word in dispute. The sense in the Hebrew runs thus: *My heart has wandered, and horror has affrighted me*: but they have rendered it, *and iniquity* (βαρὺν ζει) *overwhelms me*. The sense is obvious to those who are acquainted with the style of the prophets, which abounds with frequent metaphors and allusions. I have accounted for this manner of speech already<sup>m</sup>; and shewn, that taking it for a kind of simile, and supplying what is necessary to fill up the sense, it rather proves than makes any objection against what I plead for. Besides, as the word here cannot be understood to signify to *wash, pour, or sprinkle, &c.*, I suppose nobody will urge this place against me.

The instance in Ezekiel xxiii. 15 is manifestly an argument on my side, if you consider what I said above on those phrases which speak of dying; and it may be noted that παραβαττά here signifies *dipped*, as much as does the Hebrew word טביל, which is translated by it; the original signifying what our English version here calls *dyed attire*; and every one must own טביל signifies only *to dip*.

I do not know whether you will think Dan. iv. 20, and v. 12, more intricate than the preceding instances: but because Mr. Wall has endeavoured to defend himself by it, I must take a little the more notice of it. The same word is used in both places, and on the same occasion, and therefore we may consider them as one passage.

<sup>m</sup> Page 131, &c.

The word here used in the original is *רָמַע*, which in the Chaldee necessarily implies *dipping*; witness Buxtorf, Castell, &c., and, above all, the constant use of the word. It is by this word the Jerusalem Targum renders the Hebrew *טָבַל*, Levit. iv. 6, the only place where that imperfect version translates the Hebrew word; but had it been complete, we should probably have had more instances.

In other places where the word is used, though not to translate *טָבַל*, it is always in the same sense, signifying to *immerse* or *drown*; as Exod. xv. 4, in which place the Jerusalem Targum, Jonathan's Paraphrase, and that called Onkelos, the Syriac version, and the original of Moses, do all use *רָמַע* or *רָמַע* to signify *immerse*, *plunge*, or *drown*, as our version renders it: but I suppose it will not be questioned, otherwise I would attempt more largely to prove this word does always properly signify *to dip*. To this consideration, if it be added that the word by which the Seventy turn it into Greek, is also confessed on all hands to have primarily and generally this signification, there can be no difficulty to determine the sense of the word in this place. For since the Greek word commonly and properly signifies *to dip*, and is put for a Chaldee one of undoubtedly the same meaning, it must be very natural to judge that to be the true sense, and what the writers here intended.

It is indeed used here metaphorically, as it is five times in these two chapters on this same occasion; and therefore the Seventy render it once by *κοιμάσθαι*, *made to lie*; and twice, according to the vulgar editions, by *ἀνλίζεσθαι*, *to lie all night*, as verse 23. 25; though some copies, which seem to

preserve the ancient true reading, with Theodoret, translate it literally in this last verse by βαφίσεται, *shall be dipped*; as the Seventy also have thought fit to do, verse 33, (the place which Mr. Wall quotes,) and chap. v. 21, retaining the metaphor. Hence it seems very clear, that both Daniel and his translators designed to express the great dew Nebuchadnezzar should be exposed to, more emphatically, by saying, he should lie in dew, and be covered with it all over, as if he had been *dipped*: for that is so much like being dipped, as at most to differ no more than being in, and being put in; so that the metaphor is very easy, and not in the least strained.

The translators abundantly intimate, they thought this to be the true sense of the place, by varying, as they have, the word in their version, which in the original is but one: they turn it κοιτάζεσθαι, and ἀνλίζεσθαι, to express his lying out in the open air; and βάπτεσθαι, to signify he should be as wet by it, as if he had been dipped in dew. But having said so much already, I will only add in passing, that the dews in the East are generally very large, as appears from several passages of Scripture, as well as from the accounts of travellers into those parts. Therefore, in the story of Gideon's fleece, you find, after it had been exposed to the open air all night, he pressed out of it a *bowl full of water*, Judges vi. 38. And the holy Psalmist, setting forth the advantages of unity, compares it to *the dew of Hermon, and the dew that descended upon the mountains of Zion*, Psalm cxxxiii. 3. And philosophically speaking, the hottest climates and clearest skies naturally abound most with dew, which is also confirmed by constant experience. It is commonly known to be so

in her Majesty's leeward-islands in America; where one season of the year, when they have no rains for a considerable time together, the fruits of the earth would be burnt up, were it not for the dews which fall plentifully in the night. That incomparable mathematician, Capt. Halley, observed, when making some experiments in St. Helena, that the dews fell in such abundance, as to make his paper too wet to write on, and his glasses unfit for use without frequent wiping. And as to Africa in particular, where part of Nebuchadnezzar's dominions lay, Pliny tells us, the nights there were very dewy. Ægypt has little or no rain, but is fed by the overflowing of the Nile, and by constant nocturnal dews: and Nebuchadnezzar kept his court in a country of near the same latitude, and consequently of the like temperament.

It appears from hence, how properly the sacred writer has, on this occasion, used a word so emphatical and expressive, and avoided one that would only have signified a moderate, gentle wetting; for that had fallen short of the truth, and not expressed so fully as was necessary, the great quantity of dew by which he was made very wet. This shews also how faulty those versions are which take a word too weak, and that does not by far reach the full sense.

The authors of the ancient and valuable Syriac version, who were of the neighbourhood of Babylon, and well enough acquainted with the large dews in those parts, and endeavoured to give an exact literal translation, have shunned this error: it is worth our observing, that they render the word there by *ܠܥܒܕ*, which from the Hebrew *טבע* *to put into any thing*, as 1 Sam. xvii. 49, signifies to *immerse*, or

*dip*; but never once, that I know of, to ~~wash~~, or *sprinkle*, or simply to *wet*. And in these verses the same word is always used in the same sense; which makes it very plain how those interpreters understood it, and that they thought that manner of expression very proper and suitable to the thing intended.

And now from all these considerations I think it is very plain what is the true sense of this place, and that it makes nothing against me. For the interpretation I give is grounded on the certain allowed general sense of the words, is very agreeable to the nature and common use of languages; and withal, exactly conformable to the design of the writer; and strongly countenanced by the original word, and the best translations: and nothing more than all this can be desired to justify any interpretation whatever.

But after all, if notwithstanding what has been said, any can possibly judge this sense of the place which I have given, not so necessary as I pretend, the objection Mr. Wall raises from it is however effectually enervated: for, if it is in itself so uncertain and obscure, as to afford no necessary argument for my opinion; he and all men must however grant they can draw no necessary consequence from it against me. For it will be allowed, that the words are at least capable of my exposition, without any absurdity or constraint at all. I have now but one passage or two more to take notice of, from the Old Testament and Apocrypha.

Ecclesiasticus xxxi. 30, but in the English it is ver. 26: *The furnace proveth the edge* (in the tempering, ἐν βαφῇ) *by dipping*. This is just like the first quo-



tation from Homer; and what I have said there may serve to illustrate this, especially if we add Didymus' note on that place, that 'red-hot iron, ' by being dipped into cold water, becomes very ' hard '.

The word is used again, 2 Macc. i. 21, to signify *drawing water*, viz. by *dipping* a bucket, &c. And this use of it I have largely considered before, and therefore shall need add but one remark here, that it is necessary the word should signify to *dip* in this place, because the water is said to be at the bottom of a deep pit, ver. 19. Now it is certain the water could not be drawn up, as our translation reads it, without *dipping* the vessel into it: so that the force of the word cannot be expressed more exactly than by our English phrase, to 'dip a pail ' or bucket of water.'

But of all the texts which can be produced, some think Ecclesiasticus xxxiv. 25. the most considerable by far; and indeed they may give it a very plausible appearance. The words are in our translation, *He that washeth himself after the touching of a dead body, if he touch it again, what availeth his washing?* Βαπτίζόμενος is the word; and it is here used to signify that washing which the law enjoined upon all who had been defiled by touching a dead body. Now the manner of purification in such cases is thus described, Numb. xix. 18, *And a clean person shall take hyssop, and dip it* (by the way, you may observe, the word here is βάψαι, and plainly signifies *to dip*, though perhaps it was not *dipped* all over, no more than our author thinks

ἢ τὸ βάψαι ψυχρῇ τὸν πεπυρωμένον σίδηρον. ισχυρὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν ποιεῖ.

the living bird, &c. were, in an instance we considered before) *in the water, and sprinkle it upon the tent, &c., and upon him that touched a bone, or one slain, or one dead, or a grave.* There are other passages to the same purpose, which either mention this sprinkling, or plainly enough allude to it, as ver. 9. *And it (viz. the holy water) shall be kept for the congregation of the children of Israel, for a water of separation.*

These and such like other places, which make sprinkling necessary, may seem to put the matter beyond dispute; and I remember the time, when I thought this a very formidable instance; but I soon found and corrected my mistake: and I think it is exceeding clear, to any who are willing to see it, that a farther washing is necessary besides these sprinklings, and that this washing was the finishing of the ceremony. The defiled person was to be sprinkled with the holy water on the third and on the seventh day, only as preparatory to the great purification which was to be by washing the body and clothes on the seventh day, with which the uncleanness ended. Thus Numb. xix. 19. it is said expressly, *And the clean person shall sprinkle upon the unclean on the third day, and on the seventh day: and on the seventh day he shall purify himself, and wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and shall be clean at even.*

That the word here used in the Hebrew is יָטַף, can be no objection; for besides that it is said, Levit. xv. 16, (though not in the same particular case,) *Then he shall wash all his flesh in water,* the word always includes *dipping*, and never signifies less. Thus it is used in the story of Naaman,

2 Kings v. more than once ; and is explained at last, by Naaman's action related verse 14, and by the word טָבַל, which it is expressed by in the Hebrew, and which the Seventy have rendered there by βαπτίζεν : and all this evidently shews, that Naaman, the historian, and these translators, understood it to mean *to wash by dipping*.

Some, indeed, are pleased to fancy, the words which command bathing, are not spoken of the unclean person who had touched the dead, but of the priest officiating ; and they fortify this surmise by the seventh and eighth verses preceding, where the priest is expressly commanded *to wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water*. But it does not follow, because this place relates to the priest, that the other does so too ; nay rather, it is absurd it should, for it interrupts and confounds the sense of the place ; besides, in the very next verse but one, viz. 21, it is ordered, *that he who sprinkleth the water of separation, shall wash his clothes, &c.*, plainly intimating that was not the design of the words almost immediately foregoing. Besides, it cannot be reasonably imagined, that the priest by barely purifying the unclean, should need so much greater a washing and purification than the unclean himself.

This also, I think, will further appear, by comparing this place with Levit. xi. 31, 32, which speaks of the same thing, viz. of pollution contracted by touching that which is dead ; and says, the thing so polluted *must be put into water*. And here it may be noted again by the way, that the Seventy have chosen βαφίσεται, as the most proper word to comprehend the full sense of the Hebrew

phrase **במים ירבה**, than which (the verb being in the form they call *hophal*) no words can more strictly and emphatically signify, *it shall be put into water*; and therefore it is very surprising to find that Dr. Pococke could possibly suffer himself, on another occasion, to translate these words **שִׁיבֵי יָדָיו בַּמִּים**, *manus aqua perfuderit*<sup>r</sup>, directly contrary to the true obvious sense. I will not pretend to guess what could move him to this, but I confess this rendering serves his turn best. This is not wholly foreign to the business in hand, though it may be misplaced, and therefore I have just hinted it. But to return.

These two passages, I say, compared together, must be of considerable force, since it is plain from them, that all vessels (except earthen, which were to be broken, Levit. xi. 33.) that had been polluted by the touch of a dead body, were not only to be sprinkled, as Numb. xix. 18, but they were also to be *put into the water*, Levit. xi. 32.

Now since it cannot be thought the person touching the dead was less defiled than the vessels which touched the same, or were only in the tent with it, or that he wanted a less degree of purification; it is very natural, and I think necessary, to understand Numb. xix. 19. to be spoken of the unclean; who, I infer, therefore, was not only to be sprinkled on the third and seventh days, but was also to bathe, dip, and wash himself in water, as is plain too from Numb. xxxi. 21, &c. And if Dr. Pococke's way of arguing from the Mahometans in such cases as this, be good, the thing perhaps may be yet set in a stronger light: for it is beyond question, that they

<sup>r</sup> Not. Miscellan. cap. 9. pag. 388.

purify persons defiled by the dead, by immersion and washing all over; as I might shew from the Alcoran, if it were at hand, and several other writers. But instead of all, let this suffice, from the judicious Compendium of the Mahometan Religion, first published from the manuscript by the ingenious Mr. Beland of Utrecht: the author, speaking of that kind of purification by water which they called *Gasl*, in which, he says, the water must touch ‘every hair of the body, and the whole skin all over;’ tells us, ‘this manner of washing the whole body is necessary in order to purification after circumcision, &c., and in case of pollution by the dead.’

And this, Strabo informs us<sup>t</sup>, was in use among the Babylonians; whether the Jews borrowed it from them, or they from the Jews. And indeed, to the Jews this was the chief part of the purification, and may alone be called simply the purification; as the seventh day is called the day of purification, or cleansing, Numb. vi. 9, because the purification was completed on that day; or principally, because then this washing or bathing, which was the great as well as the concluding part of the purification, was performed; from which, as the principal part, that day takes its denomination. And by this, which was the chief part, is the whole ceremony intended, Levit. xxii. 6, where it is said of the priests, particularly of Aaron and his sons, they shall not eat of the holy things, after contracting any uncleanness, *unless they wash their flesh in water*, i. e. purify themselves regularly according to the law. In which case, the

<sup>s</sup> Page 54. l. 1.

<sup>t</sup> Lib. xvi. p 1081.

chief thing to be done was to wash their flesh in water. And Levit. xi. 32, speaking of putting the vessels into water, it is said, *so they shall be cleansed*.

It is the same in other cases : as for instance, in that of leprosy, many things were required for several days, but the chief and most effectual on the eighth, which is therefore called *the day of cleansing* ; and the offerings are ordered to be brought *for his cleansing*, Levit. xiv. 23, as if the whole, or at least the main efficacy were ascribed to them.

These considerations necessarily oblige us to believe bathing and washing the whole body in water was not only a necessary, but likewise a chief part of the purification. And after all this, certainly there can remain no difficulty in Ecclesiasticus xxxiv. 26. For hence it is very plain, Syracides by βαπτίζόμενος in that place, means *bathed, dipped, and washed* ; for you see the law required no less, and no less was practised by the Jews, in case of such pollution by the dead. And it is easy to see the reason why he mentions, and more immediately refers to the bathing only ; viz. because, as I before noted, that was the chief part, upon which cleanness immediately followed, all the rest being only necessary preparations.

And so we may find in many instances, Lev. xv. and elsewhere, the washing only is expressed, though the holy water was likewise to be sprinkled ; for it was kept for a water of separation, and a purification for sin, Numb. xix. 9, and viii. 7. And so the washing only is mentioned in this very case of pollution by a dead body, Levit. xxii. 6, as before noted. And Eleazar, Numb. xxxi. 23, orders *all*

*that abideth not the fire, ye shall make go through the water* ; not adding, the water of separation was to be sprinkled on those things : though he there intimates it must be sprinkled on the things which were to pass through the fire ; and we are assured, from Numb. xix. 18, it was likewise to be sprinkled on the vessels of wood, &c., which could not bear the fire, but were to be washed, or put into the water, Levit. xi. 32. But besides, it is usual, in speaking of the whole, to mention a part only ; which may very well be thought the case in hand, seeing it is proved that dipping was to be one part of the ceremony ; and it is allowed by all, that the word does almost constantly, and I think always, signify *to dip, plunge, or put into*. Which considerations render the synecdoche very easy ; for thus the word may be used to signify such a washing as includes *dipping*, notwithstanding sprinkling be also one part of the purification : but then it does not so much express the sprinkling as the dipping, on account of which particularly the word is applied to this purification.

Thus I have now revised all that can be urged from the Old Testament, at least all that my own observations and Kircher's industry have furnished me with ; and, notwithstanding Mr. Wall's needless appeal to Scripture, have discovered many undoubted instances there, of the sense of the word, as used in direct opposition to what Mr. Wall asserts : while no one passage can be found to be on his side ; at best, he can urge but two or three, which are very doubtful and obscure ; and after all improvements on them, conclude nothing. For whatever real or imaginary difficulties may appear in

them, you see, sir, I have fairly removed and accounted for them all.

Let us now, if you please, turn over the New Testament ; and see what mighty proofs that affords in our adversaries' favour.

In these most venerable records, which are the unerring rule of our holy religion, the word βαπτίζω is often used, but most commonly concerning the baptism of John, or the Christian sacrament, which is the subject of our dispute : but it is often without any circumstance which may determine how we must understand it : which, if it proves any thing at all, shews the word is used in the common sense only, and according to the general acceptance ; for else it had been necessary to have apprised us of the new and particular unusual sense ; and nothing of this being done, it seems reasonable to give it the same signification in all those places as it has every where else. I think this is plain and undeniable ; but Mr. Wall believes he can prove, by other instances, that it does not every where else signify *to dip*.

To that purpose, he mentions only four, which he calls ' plain instances ;' and to remove all imaginable difficulties, I will omit none he might possibly have added, except such as are plainly metaphorical, which therefore no man can justly argue from, and they may all be very easily accounted for by what I have said above.

The first, and which he enlarges most upon, is St. Luke xi. 38, which our English reads thus : *And when the Pharisee saw it, he marvelled that he had not first washed before dinner.* The original word,



he notes, is *ἐβαπτίσθη*; and comparing this place with St. Mark vii. 5, which speaks particularly of *washing of hands*, he infers, 'this is a plain instance, 'that they used the word *to baptize* for any ordinary 'washing, whether there were dipping in the case or 'not.'

To make this conclusion pass more securely, he had insinuated before, that 'their way of that washing was this: they had servants to pour the water 'on their hands, 2 Kings iii. 11; *who poured water 'on the hands of Elijah*, i. e. who waited on him 'as a servant<sup>u</sup>.'

He says no more to prove this custom, but thus slightly overpasses a point which deserved and unavoidably required greater examination, considering the whole stress of his argument depends entirely upon it; for if they washed their hands, as we usually do now, by dipping them into the water, nobody need be told his instance turns against him, and makes considerably for us.

To shew then how little service this does him, give me leave to remark these things to you: in the first place, there is a vast distance of time between the period referred to in the Book of Kings, and our Saviour's time; and the words he cites, at most do but discover what was the custom near a thousand years before, and signify nothing to the time when the words, which are the ground of his inference, were spoken.

And who does not know what great alterations might happen, or rather must have happened, in such a succession of years? The great revolutions in the states and kingdoms of the world sufficiently

<sup>u</sup> Part ii. p. 220. [329.]

shew the power of time; a multitude of examples of this kind may be found in all, and even in our own nation. But not to mention any of those customs, which once universally prevailed among the ancient Britons, and are now quite worn out, I will instance in baptism itself, which all men know was used to be administered in England by dipping, till queen Elizabeth's time: since which, that pure primitive manner is grown into a total disuse, within little more than one hundred years; and *sprinkling*, the most opposite to it imaginable, introduced in its stead. The matter of fact is notorious, or otherwise, I think, it might seem much more incredible, than to suppose a people who once washed their hands by having water poured on them, could possibly one thousand years afterwards, instead of this, wash them as we do now, by dipping them into the water: especially, considering how often they had been conquered, led into captivity and dispersed, and were even then actually under the Roman yoke; for such revolutions always bring great changes in the customs and humours of a people along with them: and the Jews had actually so changed their language in Nehemiah's days, that they did not understand the Scriptures in the Hebrew tongue. Add to this, that Christ himself has assured us, they were an obstinate, bigoted race of men, a *stiff-necked generation*, as their prophets styled them; and though they valued themselves extremely on their law, yet our Saviour assures us likewise, that they had introduced abundance of innovations in their religion, so far as to destroy its essence, and vacate the grand points of that very law they were so proud of; and that particularly in the washings

it prescribed : and yet this is certainly much harder to conceive them capable of doing, than that they should make an alteration in the manner of washing their hands. But secondly,

I observe the words do not prove what Mr. Wall cites them for : as our translation reads them, they appear, indeed, to countenance his supposition, that about Elijah's time they might perhaps wash their hands after that manner ; but if you read the original, sir, you will allow the place might be altogether as well rendered, *who poured out water for*, not upon, *the hands of Elijah* ; the Hebrew particle *ל* often signifying *for*, in this sense, as Psalm xxxii. 6, *ל* *זאת*, *for this cause shall every one that is godly pray unto thee*, &c. And thus it is used very frequently, as in all those numerous instances where it is joined with *כ* ; so for example, Gen. ii. 24, *ל*—*כ*, *ἐνεκεν τούτου*, according to the Seventy : and perhaps our Lord from them, Matt. xix. 5, *For this cause*, say our translators, *shall a man leave father and mother*, &c. So again, Gen. xi. 9, *ל*—*כ*, *διὰ τοῦτο* ; for this cause, or, *therefore is the name of it called Babel*. And once more for all, Prov. xxviii. 21, *ל*—*כ*—*פת*—*לחם*, in our translation, *for a piece of bread that man will transgress*.

It is plain from these instances, without adding any more, that the words naturally admit a different sense from what Mr. Wall would fix on them, and therefore can avail him nothing. But,

Lastly, if it is worth while to inquire what was the custom so long ago, in a matter of this nature, it will with little search appear at least very probable, that their religious washing of their hands and feet was performed by dipping them into the

water. For when Moses received directions from God concerning the utensils of the tabernacle, he was commanded, among other things, to make a laver of brass, in which water was to be kept between the tabernacle of the congregation, and the altar, for the priests to wash their hands and feet before they entered the tabernacle, or when they approached the altar to offer; *so they shall wash their hands and their feet, that they die not*, Exod. xxx. 21. The word here used by the sacred penman in the original is רָדַע; which, as I before noted, generally, and I think always, includes *dipping* in its signification; and therefore too makes it at least probable they were to wash their hands and feet by dipping them into the water. Had יָצַק been used here, as in 2 Kings iii. 11, above cited, which signifies *to pour*, Mr. Wall would scarce have omitted this passage, but have thought it very convincing and strong on his side; as now, I think, it must be allowed to be against him.

The same word, we may observe, is used 2 Chron. iv. 6, about the vast brasen sea Solomon caused to be made, which held two hundred baths, that is, near one thousand barrels of water: the bulk of it argues the priests were to go into it; the words express it also, *the sea was for the priests to wash in*, בָּרַ. So again, in another instance, Exod. xxix. 4, concerning the consecration of the priests, which Jonathan renders טָבַל, *thou shalt dip them in forty measures of spring water*.

Farther: that this was the way our Lord took when he washed his disciples' feet, John xiii. 5, seems very certain, both from the propriety of the words, and the manner in which it is related :

*After that, he poureth water into a bason, and began to wash the disciples' feet, &c.* We see the water was not poured on their feet, but into the bason, before he came to them, where their feet were to be washed. The book that goes under the name of the Apostolical Constitutions, relates the action thus: 'After that, he poured water into a bason, 'and as we sat, he came to us, and washed our feet, 'and wiped them with a towel \*.' The bason here is *νιπτήρ*, which signifies a vessel to wash in; from whence it has its name, as the water they washed with was also from thence called *νίμμα*, *νίπτρον*, *ποδό-νιπτρον*, or *χειρόνιπτρον*, and the like; and so Eustathius<sup>y</sup> upon Homer explains *χέρνιβα*, to mean 'the 'water which is poured out for,' not upon, 'the 'hands;' by which their custom, as well as the sense of the words, is expressed. And to all this we may add, that Mark vii. 3. *unless they wash* *πυγμῇ*, (up to the elbow or wrist,) must imply *dipping*. But, besides what our author had said himself to support his opinion, he refers us also, in his margin, to Dr. Pococke; who, he says, 'has largely proved in 'his *Notæ Miscell.* from Maimonides and others, 'that this was the Jews' way;' and then, not very fairly, adds a piece of a sentence, which would make any one think the doctor meant that the Jews never washed but by affusion, which seems not a fair way of dealing with the authority he cites in his defence; or does he think none have read the doctor's writings but himself?

\* Lib. iii. cap. 19. *Εἶτα βάλλει ὕδωρ εἰς τὸν νιπτήρα καὶ ἡμῶν ὠσκειμένων ἐπελθὼν, πάντων ἡμῶν ἐνιψε τοὺς πόδας, καὶ τῷ λευτίῳ ἐξέμαξε.*

y Pag. 1401. *Χέρνιβα δὲ τὰ εἰς χειρὸς νίμμα καταχόμενα.*

That learned gentleman, I know, has taken a world of labour to explain several particulars relating to the washing of hands, according to the sentiments of the Jewish doctors; and has shewn himself very well versed in the rabbinical writings, which he understood, perhaps, as well as ever Maimonides did. But really, sir, I should have honoured his parts and learning much more, if he had trusted less to those fanciful authors the rabbins, whose commentaries are frivolous and impertinent; and, in short, it is impossible to erect a firm building on so uncertain a foundation. As for Maimonides, whose authority, Mr. Wall is careful to inform us, is used by Dr. Pococke in this affair, perhaps, to intimate that the matter is therefore grounded on unexceptionable evidence; I confess, he was one of the greatest and most judicious that ever appeared among the rabbins, but a true rabbin notwithstanding, and perfectly besotted to the idle dreams in which their boasted knowledge chiefly consists; and consequently, even he cannot be much depended on: besides, he lived not above six hundred years ago, that is about one thousand one hundred after Christ<sup>z</sup>, and therefore could know what was practised in our Saviour's time no better than many can now; and yet he is by far the best authority of any Dr. Pococke makes use of.

I would not be thought to slight the testimony of the rabbins thus, because they are against me in this point, or that I am so hampered with what the doctor says, that I can answer no other way but by lessening their credit; for neither they nor the doctor are so much against me as Mr. Wall pretends:

<sup>z</sup> R. David Ganz.

besides, they have not this character from me alone, but from all who are acquainted with them, even those persons that follow and depend on them so much, which is something strange. But I shall have occasion to say more of them in another place, where I may give some reasons for my opinion.

But because our author refers, not so much to the rabbins themselves as to Dr. Pococke, a man of very great reputation, especially for his skill in these things; in deference to him I will take notice of a line or two in the chapter Mr. Wall has cited; which may discover how much he abuses the doctor, who very fully grants all I need desire: for he allows βαπτίζεσθαι signifies more than χερνίπτειν, *to wash the hands*; so that βαπτίζεσθαι must signify more than barely any manner of washing them, and he can mean no less than to *dip* them: for his words are; ‘These things abundantly confirm what I asserted in the beginning, viz. that טביל (which answers to βαπτίζεσθαι in the Greek) signifies a farther degree of purification than נטיל, or χερνίπτειν, yet not so as necessarily to imply an immersion of the whole body; for the greatest and most notorious uncleanness of the hands reached but to the *perek*, or the wrist, and was cleansed by immersing or dipping them up so high <sup>a</sup>.’

<sup>a</sup> Not. Miscell. cap. 9. pag. 393. In his quæ produximus est quod ea quæ initio diximus abunde confirmet, esse scil. טביל (quod βαπτίζεσθαι significat) ulteriorem purgationis gradum quam is qui per נטיל seu χερνίπτειν intelligitur, nec tamen totius corporis mersionem necessario indigitare, cum vel gravissima ac manifesta manuum immundities רפ̄ *perek*, seu ea quæ ad brachiale est junctura finiatur, ac manuum eousque mersione tollatur, &c.

How different is this from our author's representation of the doctor's opinion, that the 'Jews do not wash their hands, but by having water poured on them?' Whereas, you see, the doctor says, he has been abundantly proving, that מַבֵּיל or βαπτίζεσθαι does signify more than simply to wash the hands; and the following lines, wherein he explains what he means by more than χερνίπτειν, shew clearly that he means to *immerse* or *dip*, as appears by the instance, and the express words he makes use of: and therefore also assigning the reason why βαπτίζεσθαι is used, Mark vii. 4. he recurs to this custom of dipping their hands into the water, from which alone, he thinks, the expression is to be justified; intimating, or rather asserting, that the word is used there, and in the parallel places, with a particular regard to that practice. So Dr. Hammond understands him, and determines this to be the sense of the place too; for he says, the word signifies the 'washing of any part, as the hands here, by way of immersion in water, as that is opposed to affusion or pouring water on them<sup>b</sup>.' But Dr. Pococke's words are these:

'I will give you my opinion: for their common ordinary meals, they were at liberty, either to immerse or dip their hands in a spring, or a bason which held a certain quantity of water, or to wash them in the manner I described, by pouring water on them. Since then they might wash which of these ways they pleased, and it is likely enough some who pretended to a more than ordinary sanctity, &c.—might choose that which was

<sup>b</sup> Annot. on Mark vii. 4.



‘reckoned the chief; it is not without great reason, that a word is used which should comprehend both ways: for though βαπτίζεσθαι does indeed principally agree to the immersion, yet that it does not necessarily and only signify that, I think is plain from Luke xi. 38<sup>c</sup>.’ I add these last words, because in them the doctor seems to declare against me, by instancing in the place under consideration, to prove that βαπτίζω does not always mean *to dip*. But,

First, it is no good argument, but downright begging the question, to instance in the very case disputed. And secondly, the doctor having just before allowed that the Jews did wash by dipping as well as by affusion, and that the word does properly and principally signify such a washing as is performed by dipping, and withal accounting from these considerations for the use of it in Mark vii. 4. which is parallel to this in Luke xi. 38.—it appears not only reasonable but necessary to understand the doctor’s meaning to be, that the word does not *necessarily and only* signify *to dip*; for so his sense is consistent with what he had said before, and is indeed all he intended to prove by it; though at the same

<sup>c</sup> Not. Miscell. cap. 9. p. 397. Dicam quod sentio; cibum ordinarium capturis liberum erat sive manus in aquarum justæ mensuræ conceptaculum, ‘vel fontem’ immergere, sive easdem eo quem descripsimus modo, aqua affusa lavare:—Cum ergo utram mallent harum lotionum adhibere possent, et satis probabile sit ex iis qui majorem sanctimoniam speciem præ se ferrent, fuisse qui—eam quæ gravissima putabatur observarent, non sine magna ratione usurpatum videatur verbum quod utramque comprehenderet. Nam quamvis βαπτίζεσθαι ei revera, quæ immersione fit, præcipue competat, non tamen de ea solum, vel necessario dici patere arbitror ex illo quod occurrit Luc. xi. 38.

time, I must say again, even this is but begging the question.

Thus much then may be fairly gathered from the doctor's words; that in Luke xi. 38. and Mark vii. 4, βαπτίζεσθαι does naturally and principally signify to wash the hands by dipping; which is all I desire, and directly contrary to what Mr. Wall cites him for. He supposes, indeed, that it is used to comprehend the other way of washing too; but this is an arbitrary supposition, which seems to be made only to serve a turn: nor does he so much as go about to prove the word is ever once used so; the only reason he has to think it, are the sayings of the rabbins. But I wonder a man of the doctor's parts should (contrary to what he granted was the proper and general, and I add the constant use of the word) wrest and strain the sacred text, to make it comply with the senseless fancies of those chimerical men.

In fine; what the doctor says from the rabbins, we see, is of no great weight; and if it were ever so considerable, yet it makes nothing for Mr. Wall, but rather against him. For since it is beyond dispute, that the word properly and generally signifies *to dip*; and that the Jews did, at least sometimes, wash by dipping; and that dipping also was thought a more perfect purification, which therefore, at least, some of the superstitious Pharisees very strictly adhered to: it is very natural, and even necessary, to believe the word means nothing less in the place before us; especially if it be considered, it is a zealous Pharisee who is there speaking, who also, perhaps, looked for signs of the severest sanctity in a person who set up for a censor and reformer even of the

sect of the Pharisees themselves; who made such mighty pretences to, and had gained so great a reputation for holiness, &c. Add to all this, that if any heed is to be given to the words themselves, the plain letter of the holy text, which implies *to dip*, is on my side; while on the contrary, Mr. Wall produces no one thing to make it probable, in the least degree, that the Pharisee, or if you please St. Luke, did not mean *to dip*.

But I have run too great a length on this passage; and will therefore endeavour to contract on those which remain.

The next instance Mr. Wall makes use of is Mark vii. 4, which he brings as an undoubted proof for his purpose: and, as if it needed or was capable of no improvement, he only remarks, that ‘what is translated *the washing of pots*, &c. is in the original *the baptizing of pots*, &c. And what is there said, when they come from market, except they wash they eat not; the words of St. Mark are, *except they be baptized, they eat not*<sup>d</sup>.’ Profound observations! any man of a different disposition from Mr. Wall would have taken this for a very clear instance against him; or to be sure no other man could have cited these words, but he would at least have thought it necessary to say something however, to shew which way they so strangely and wonderfully prove βαπτίζω does not signify *to dip*. I cannot but wonder what it is Mr. Wall means; for, as to the vessels, if we know any thing of the matter, they were to be cleansed by putting them into the water, at least if we may take the express

<sup>d</sup> [Part ii. p. 220, of the first edition; vol. ii. p. 330, of the present.]

word of God for it, Lev. xi. 32. And Dr. Hammond says, 'The baptism of cups is putting into 'water all over, rinsing them<sup>e</sup>.' And as to the persons, whether they washed by *dipping*, and whether they washed all over, or some part only, deserved to have been a little more enlarged on: but why do I say a little more, when he has said nothing at all to it, but has taken it for granted, without the least hesitation? as if it was a self-evident first principle, that it is very direct and strong in his favour, notwithstanding he has allowed that the Jews did immerse the thing or person to be washed<sup>f</sup>.

And here again our author refers you to his margin, to one line or not so much, which he has transcribed from Dr. Pococke, in these words; 'They 'who washed at coming from the market, did not 'dip their whole bodies<sup>g</sup>:' which words Mr. Wall brings in with a very magisterial air in these terms, 'This was not dipping.' But, by his and the doctor's leave, it is a mistake: for they, when they came from market, did wash by dipping; and these dogmatical assertions will not be thought to go a great way to prove the contrary.

The doctor, indeed, sets himself with all his might to justify his opinion; and to that end calls in the whole body of rabbins to his assistance, such as it is, light and inconsiderable enough in reason; but never attempts, as I remember, to give one in-

<sup>e</sup> Annot. in Mark vii. 4.

<sup>f</sup> Part ii. page 324. [This expression, with the entire clause which contained it, had been left out by Dr. Wall from his *second* edition.]

<sup>g</sup> *Lavantes a foro totum corpus non mersabant.* Notæ Misc. cap. 9.

stance that the word is so used as he pretends : which, nevertheless, would have carried something more of solidity in it, than thus to build all on the authority of a thousand rabbins, who make reason and revelation the least part of the rule they speak by ; and yet these men only does the doctor oppose to the universal acceptation of the word, and the venerable authority of the sacred text. What respect can such persons have to that awful *pillar and ground of the truth*, who industriously make it bend and yield to the silly whimsies of these men ? But against them and the doctor I produce Vatablus, a man so singularly versed in the rabbinical writings, that even the Jews themselves, as Monsieur de Thou tells us, greatly admired his lectures, and attended them when he was public Hebrew professor at Paris. Vatablus says, ‘ They washed themselves all over <sup>h</sup>.’ And to pass by others, I will only add the authority of the admirable Grotius, who ought never to be named without a mark of honour ; he says on Mark vii. 4 : ‘ They were more solicitous to cleanse themselves from the defilement they had contracted in the market ; and therefore they not only washed their hands, but immersed their whole body <sup>i</sup>.’

These authorities are vastly beyond Mr. Wall’s quotation, and proportionably determine the thing against him : but as considerable as they are, I do not desire you should trust to these alone neither ; for it will likewise appear that antiquity, and, above all, the sacred text itself contradicts him also.

<sup>h</sup> Ad Marc. vii. 4. Se totos abluebant.

<sup>i</sup> Majori cura se purgabant a fori contactu, quippe non manus tantum lavando, sed et corpus mersando.

That it was customary to purify themselves by washing the whole body, at least in some cases, is shewn before; and the priests were particularly forbid to eat, unless they first washed their flesh in water, Lev. xxii. 6. And we have frequent mention among the ancients of the *hemerobaptistæ*, who were so called from their practice of washing themselves in this manner every day; as in the Apostolical Constitutions<sup>k</sup>, where it is noted, that unless they are so washed, *they eat not*; for without washing they thought they could not be saved, according to that renunciation, transcribed by Cotelierius<sup>l</sup> from the *Regius Codex*, 1818. They are inserted in the catalogue of Jewish sects by Hegesippus<sup>m</sup>; and Justin Martyr, mentioning several sects also of the Jews, names these among the rest, and calls them *baptistæ*<sup>n</sup>, from this signification of the word: and these washings are what in the Constitutions<sup>o</sup> are intended by βαπτισμάτων καθημερινῶν, *daily washings*, as may be further confirmed by that account given us of one sect of the Jews by Josephus<sup>p</sup>, who lived in the apostolical times, and is of infinitely more credit, and more to be relied on, than all the rabbins; he expressly mentions, more than once, their washing of their bodies. Tertullian too plainly intimates, the Jews used to wash their whole bodies, when he says, ‘ Though the Jews daily wash every

<sup>k</sup> Lib. vi. cap. 6. Οἷτινες καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, ἐὰν μὴ βαπτίσωσιν οὐκ ἐσθίουσιν, &c.

<sup>l</sup> Ad Recognit. lin. 1. pag. 499.

<sup>m</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. cap. 22. fol. 41.

<sup>n</sup> Dialog. cum Tryph. pag. 307. [sect. 80. pag. 178. edit. Benedict.]

<sup>o</sup> Lib. vi. cap. 18.

<sup>p</sup> Bell. Judaic. lib. ii. cap. 7.

‘ part of their body, yet they are never clean.’ And Rabbi Benjamin, in his Itinerary<sup>q</sup>, mentions the Chuthites or Samaritans about Naplosa, formerly Sichem, between Gerazim and Ebal; and says, they still wash their bodies every day.

And what else but this washing of the whole body can be the meaning of the sacred text; when it is so plain, and beyond all possible ambiguity, that the washing of the hands is mentioned in the words immediately preceding, and therefore cannot without great absurdity be again so formally repeated here? If indeed the words in the third verse expressed only a light washing of the hands, it might then be feasible enough to suppose, that in the fourth, St. Mark designed to signify their extraordinary care to wash them more thoroughly after they had been in the market. But it is not so; for the third verse, it is generally agreed, expresses the greatest and most solemn washing of the hands, whether *πρυμῆ* signifies only *to the wrist*, as Dr. Pococke, Hammond, Whitby, &c. among our own countrymen, think from the rabbins; or (which seems most agreeable to the use of the word) *to the elbow*, as Theophylact is commonly noted to explain it, and some of the best critics, as Drusius, Cappel, &c.

Can any one possibly imagine now, that just after saying *the Pharisees, and all the Jews, except they wash their hands, πρυμῆ, (up to the wrist, or elbow,) eat not, holding the tradition of the elders*; the holy evangelist should immediately add, not only that they *always* wash their hands before they eat, but also *when they come from the market, unless they wash their hands, they eat not*? This seems

very mean and unnecessary, for it was fully comprehended in the words immediately foregoing, and does not heighten or explain them at all. But to return to the case in hand; if we understand it to mean the washing of the whole body, the sense is pertinent, easy, and natural, and very regularly expressed too; for it is methodical enough to express their common purification first, and then to add, that in case of greater pollution contracted at the market, they were not content with barely this washing, or any thing short of washing the whole body. Albertus Bobovius, chief interpreter to the emperor Mahomet IV, has followed this order in a like case<sup>r</sup>, viz. in describing the Mahometan washings, which they borrowed from the Jews: first, he relates their

<sup>r</sup> [See 'A. Bobovii Tractatus de Turcarum Liturgia, &c. cum Notis Thomæ Hyde, 4°. Oxon. 1690.' page 1. The author, Albert Bobowski, was by birth a Pole: being taken prisoner by the Tartars he was sold by them to the Turks, among whom he remained for twenty years; adopted their religion, changed his name, and having at length obtained his freedom, he cultivated both European and Asiatic languages with so much success, that he was promoted to the post of chief interpreter to the emperor.

He studied and wrote much; composed a Turkish Lexicon and Grammar: translated the Catechism of the Church of England into Turkish, and made a version of the entire Scripture into the same language, the manuscript of which was (and perhaps is still) preserved in the university of Leyden.

His earnest wish was, to renounce the errors of Islamism, and to finish his days in England, in the bosom of our Church, amongst whose members he had many friends. But death overtook him before these desires of his heart could be accomplished. He died at Constantinople in 1675. The learned Dr. Hyde speaks of him with much affection and regret, in the preface to his curious and valuable tract, from which, on account of its considerable rarity, I have thought it worth while to extract the foregoing particulars.]



ordinary lustrations, &c., the washing of the face, the hands, and feet, &c., before prayers; and afterwards adds, that upon greater and extraordinary pollutions, they are obliged to wash the whole body. And here by the way, if Dr. Pococke's method were good, we might improve this to our purpose, and shew, that in extraordinary defilements, such as this in St. Mark, the Jews did wash the whole body; for thus the doctor frequently expounds the Jewish ceremonies, by recurring to the Mahometan. But I think we do not need such evidence.

But before I conclude what I have to say on this, give me leave to observe to you, that all the versions in the Polyglot, except Montanus' and the vulgar Latin, to wit, the Syriac, Arabic, Æthiopic, and Persic, unanimously understand the words in a sense quite different from what has been hitherto mentioned; that is, they all take the meaning to be, not that the Jews washed themselves, or their hands, &c., when they came from the market; but that the herbs for instance, and other things they bought there, were first to be washed before they could be eaten. Thus they translate the place, 'and what they buy in the market, unless it be washed, they eat not.'

It must be owned, the Greek is capable of this sense; and I wonder commentators have taken so little notice of it, especially since these four valuable versions so entirely agree in it; for the Syriac and Æthiopic are allowed to have been made in or near the apostolic times, and unquestionably by such as understood the Jewish ceremonies very well, and perhaps were Jews themselves, as the greatest part of the Christian church at that time was. I cannot

but pay very great respect to such ancient translations, and therefore am willing to grant, this perhaps may be the true meaning.

Robert Stephens, in an ancient manuscript from Italy, and the copy Beza presented to the university of Cambridge, read *ὅταν ἔλθωσιν*, 'when they come;' and therefore our English translators have not put these words in the supplemental character; but Grotius thinks they were conjecturally added in the Greek, by somebody who thought they were wanting; and Lucas Brugensis says, they are inserted from some faulty Latin copies; the most and the best copies omit them, and learned men in general see no necessity of inserting them. But the authority of these ancient versions is, I had like to have said, irresistible, and shews that undoubtedly they were not in the Autographa, and the earliest copies.

In short, if the sense of the words is as these versions take it, they are directly against Mr. Wall, for nobody will make a question how herbs are washed: and if this is not the sense, yet I think I have shewn plainly enough, that the Jews did sometimes, and more than probably in the present case, wash the whole body: or if after all neither of these senses will be allowed, supposing the place does speak of washing the hands, even Dr. Pococke, Dr. Hammond, &c., allow, and urge it too, that it means to wash them by dipping, which answers my end full as well as either of the other ways; for if the word does but signify *to dip*, I ask no more; let it relate to the whole body, or a part of it only, either way I gain my point.

The next place our author cites, will do him as little service as any of those we have already exa-

mined are found to do ; it is in Heb. ix. 10. *Which stood only in meats and drinks, and divers washings and carnal ordinances, &c.* Now of these *divers washings*, (βαπτισμοῖς,) some, our author tells us, were by bathing, and others by sprinkling ; and so takes it for granted that the word in this place signifies to wash in general, and any or all kinds of washing, and to sprinkle as well as to dip.

But you may be pleased to observe, sir, this is grossly begging the question ; for without any necessity, meeting with the word here, he supposes all the legal sprinklings are intended by it, as well as the bathings, and so learnedly demonstrates the thing ; and then draws his conclusion, that it signifies *to sprinkle*.

But the words, for ought he knows to the contrary, may speak of those washings only which were by bathing or dipping into water ; and so Grotius and Dr. Whitby understand them. And therefore supposing the word principally to express *dipping*, and not always or necessarily (if at all) to imply any thing else, which cannot be denied me ; and there being nothing in this passage which makes it needful it should include *sprinkling*, it must seem very reasonable to suppose it means only the bathings : for there is not only no mention of sprinkling, &c., or allusion to it ; but the word being allowed generally and most properly to signify *to dip*, and here being no intimation that any thing else is intended, it is something of an argument to prove *sprinkling* is not intended.

While our author endeavours to shew this Greek word does sometimes signify to *sprinkle* or *wash*, he should certainly have made use of such instances

wherein sprinkling is plainly meant; which, nevertheless, we see, sir, he has not done.

Our translators have rendered the place before us well enough, one would have thought, so as to have given our author no reasonable ground of citing it to the purpose he does. But it seems there is no being safe from the cavils of some men, and therefore I think it might have been rendered something more determinately, *divers bathings* or *dippings*. If it had been so rendered, I presume Mr. Wall would not have thought our translation did at all favour his pretence; and yet the Greek is as expressly against him as that could have been; for I still assert, the word does always, and here too, only signify *dippings*, *bathings*, &c., and unless he can assign a reason to the contrary, the allowed common settled sense of the word will be thought sufficient to justify my assertion. And if it were nothing else, the bare possibility of this being the true sense will alone destroy all he says from the words, which can have no force, till it is made appear they are capable of his sense only, and no other; for if they are equally capable in themselves of either sense, they can argue nothing either way.

Our translators rendering the original so loosely, perhaps gave Mr. Wall occasion to imagine the Greek word is as general as the English; and therefore that the text, speaking of washings in general, might be supposed to comprehend all the washings of every kind; (though by the way, it seems a little harsh to call sprinkling *washing*;) but he is to prove, and not to suppose, that the Greek is of so large a signification. However, if

we grant the sacred writer designed by the words all the Jewish purifications, by *sprinkling* as well as by *dipping*; it will no more follow, against the universal use of the word, that it here signifies *to sprinkle*, than that *mucro*, for instance, in Latin, signifies *the hilt of a sword*, because it is sometimes put for *a sword*, but strictly signifies only the *point* of it. So here; granting for once that sprinklings are included in the writer's design, yet the word only signifies *dipping*, and is put by a synecdoche *a potiori*, to signify all their purifications, this being one part of them: but it is no consequence, that therefore the word signifies each part singly, or that it belongs as properly to one part as another, or that it ever signifies any of the other parts, without or distinct from this of dipping; which nevertheless, as absurd as it is, is our author's inference. Just as if, because Cicero, in one of his Letters<sup>a</sup>, calls his wife and daughter *charissimæ animæ*, some wonderful critic should thence pretend *anima* in Latin signifies *body* or matter, as well as mind or *spirit*.

Though the tithing of mint, anise, and cummin, Matt. xxiii. 23, by a synecdoche, denotes the whole ceremonial law; yet I suppose our author will not go about to say, ἡδύσµον, the original word for *mint*, signifies *sacrifice*; and that ἀνηθον *anise*, is as properly a *burnt-offering*, and κύµινον, which is rendered *cummin*, comprehends in its signification, the holy water of separation, or the legal sprinklings. In like manner *circumcision* is frequently put for the whole law, and so is *sacrifice*; yet no man can

<sup>a</sup> Lib. xiv. Famil. Epist. 14.

be so inconsiderate as to urge from thence, and insist on such instances, to prove that either of these words signifies what the other does: and yet Mr. Wall's argument from this passage is, at best, no other; for he supposes the words here are put for all the washings, or rather all the parts of the purifications by water; and thence concludes, the word signifies one as well as the other, *sprinkling* as well as *dipping*. And even this is grounded on a very false and precarious supposition, viz. that the original word is of as large an acceptation as the English word by which it is rendered: but the Greek is as much against him, as what I count the more literal and truer English, viz. *divers bathings* or *dippings*, would be; for so it should be translated, which every one will say is quite opposite to his supposition; for 'divers bathings or dippings,' undoubtedly are not *some dippings* and *some sprinklings*. And this being agreeable to the true sense of the word, till I can see a good reason to the contrary, I must think this place means nothing else.

The last place Mr. Wall mentions is Matt. xxvi. 23; *He that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, &c.*; and all the use he makes of it, is only to observe the word does not here mean the dipping of the whole hand. But this is nothing to the purpose: for the question is not about the whole, or a part of the subject, but whether the Greek word signifies only *to dip*, or any thing else. And therefore this is shuffling off the question, and seeming to say something, when in reality he says nothing at all, but even by this tacitly allows all we demand. For all other considerations aside, if it be true that

*βαπτίζω* does only signify *to dip*, it is all we ask, and shall but desire our adversaries so far to acknowledge the truth, and our present dispute is at an end.

There is another fancy of Mr. Wall's which is almost too trifling to be taken notice of; he pretended to establish the sense of the word from these two particulars :

1. The plain application of it in Scripture, to signify to wash, by sprinkling or pouring on water; and this we have been examining. 2. ' That the ' sacramental washing is often in Scripture expressed ' by other words besides *baptizing*, which other words ' do signify washing in the 'ordinary and general ' sense'. The truth of this observation I shall not go about to question, I grant it is a plain case; but what is this to the business in hand? He is to shew *βαπτίζω* does signify any kind of washing, and to that purpose he tells you, the sacramental washing is expressed by words which signify to wash in general. And what of that? Why here the force of this argument, if it has any, must lie: the word, which is sometimes used to express the sacramental washing, signifies any kind of washing in general; therefore this sacrament may be administered by any kind of washing. And again, by another ' there-fore,' the word *βαπτίζω*, especially when applied to this sacrament, must, if it agrees to the thing it is applied to, signify any manner of washing too. To discover what admirable logic this is, let us invert his argument thus: *βαπτίζω*, it is plain, in all other instances, signifies *to dip*, and not one

† Part ii. p. 221. [331.]

instance can be given where it ever signifies any thing else; therefore the sacramental washing, which is very commonly and indeed most properly expressed by it, (for it is named *baptism*,) was and is to be administered by dipping only. And therefore,

2. All the other words, whatever they are, which are applied to this sacrament, though it were βάπτίζω itself, αἶψα, or even σμικρῶς καταπαίνειν, must signify nothing less than *to dip* likewise.

But the unhappiness of this way of arguing is, that it will equally prove contraries true, and the same thing to be true and false, so that nothing will be gained by it: and thus it falls out with Mr. Wall; he proves by it that βάπτίζω signifies *to pour* or *sprinkle*, or any kind of washing; and after the same manner I have proved that λούω, the word on which he grounds his argument, and all the other words which he will say signify *to sprinkle*, &c., do always and necessarily signify *to dip*, and only to dip.

You see, therefore, this form of reasoning concludes equally on both sides, and consequently in reality it proves nothing at all.

But if it be not a fault to treat so ridiculous a fancy more seriously, let me ask you, whether you can easily imagine that Mr. Wall is himself persuaded there is any thing in what he says; for he must needs know well enough, that words, like our ideas, which they are the signs of, must have their genera and their species: some are of a very large comprehensive notation; but the several things such words comprehend, have besides a more proper peculiar word to be distinguished by, which is not



therefore of so large a signification. Take a familiar example: we compassionately say, such a man is a poor creature; but would any one therefore imagine that the word 'man,' or 'that particular man,' and the word 'creature,' are synonymous terms, equally large and comprehensive in their significations? Could any body be so absurd as to infer, that the word 'man' signifies any created being, an angel, a horse, a worm, a stock, &c., because the generical word 'creature' comprehends, and is equally applicable to all these? Yet this is Mr. Wall's own argument to a tittle.

Thus, supposing βαπτισμοῖς, Heb. ix. 10, does, as he would have it believed, signify any sort of washing, will it follow that the Jewish sprinklings, which he says are meant there, may be performed by any kind of washing; and that the words used in the law for *sprinkle*, signify so too? Or because λούω, the same word he argues from here, expresses the legal washings, will he say any kind of washing might be used at liberty; and that it was enough to *sprinkle* those things which God directly commanded should be *put into* the water, Lev. xi. 32; or that כִּי־יִבֹא בַמִּיָּם signifies to wash in general, and to *sprinkle* as well as any thing else, merely because the washings are expressed sometimes by a general word, which comprehends all the kinds of them? It is, I think, much more reasonable to say, that words, to which common use has appropriated a more particular sense, should be allowed to determine what any others have expressed more generally and at large; the words of a more determinate sense giving a more particular and exact account of the matter.

The general words may comprehend the particular, not wholly, but only as they also signify to wash; for the latter mean something more than barely to wash, and restrain it to this or that manner of washing. If it is but washing, let it be dipping or pouring, or any thing else, it may well enough be expressed by the general word, though this or that particular mode of washing can only answer the import of the particular word. Thus, though all dipping is washing, and as such is contained under the general word *λούω*, which signifies simply *to wash*; yet it does not therefore follow, that all washing is dipping, or that all washings may be expressed by the word which properly signifies *to dip*; nor that, when two words are used concerning the same thing, as here *λούω* and *βαπτίζω*, they are *ισοδύναμοι*, and altogether of the same import, as our author would strangely infer.

For thus Homer speaks of stars being ‘washed in the sea<sup>u</sup>,’ using the same word Mr. Wall here argues from; and yet must be understood to mean their setting in the sea, according to the known expression of the poets. And therefore when Virgil is speaking of the greater and lesser Bears, and says, They

—————by fate's decree,

Abhor to *dive* beneath the southern sea<sup>x</sup>:

*tingo* here, and *δύνω* in a thousand instances in the Grecian poets, must be interpreted to mean any

<sup>u</sup> Iliad. E. v. 6.

<sup>x</sup> — Perque duas in morem fluminis Arctos,  
Arctos Oceani metuentes æquore TINGI.

Georgic. I. 245.

manner of washing, and may as well signify *to sprinkle*, as *to dip* or *put into*.

I need not repeat the observations of logicians about their *genera* and *species*; yet give me leave only to transcribe one canon from Aristotle<sup>γ</sup>: ‘The *species* includes the definition of the *genus*, and all that is in it, but not *vice versa*.’ Dipping includes washing, but washing does not include dipping; for there may be a washing by pouring, &c. Thus the Christian sacrament, which is to be administered by dipping, which is one kind of washing, may very well be called by the general name (*washing*); but it will in no wise follow, that therefore this general word does comprehend all that is signified by the more particular one, or serve properly to interpret it.

Thus you see, sir, how little there is in what our author says, to make it plain that βαπτίζω does not necessarily and always signify *to dip*.

I hope I have acted very uprightly in examining all his instances, and allowed every thing its due weight, in his behalf. Besides those he mentions, I have likewise considered all other instances that I could imagine might possibly be pleaded for him, which he took no notice of, without concealing any one. And no man, I fancy, will think there are others behind which may be urged with any colour on his side: for such metaphorical passages as Matt. xx. 22. *Are ye able, &c. to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?* and such like places, are so manifestly figurative and obscure, that

<sup>γ</sup> Top. lib. iv. cap. 1. Δῆλον οὖν ὅτι τὰ μὲν εἶδη μετέχει τῶν γενῶν τὰ δὲ γένη, τῶν εἰδῶν οὐ.

they cannot be thought to furnish any argument either way, and therefore I pass them by. And what I have farther to add upon this matter, I must refer to my next. I am,

Sir,

Yours, &c.

## LETTER V.

To appeal to the Scriptures only for the sense of a word, very unreasonable—It is notwithstanding proved from them that the Greek word must always signify *to dip*—What passages may be argued from—Luke xvi. 24 ; John xiii. 26 ; Rev. xix. 13—The vulgar copies have lost the true reading in the last—Metaphorical passages make for, not against my opinion—Languages do not exactly answer to one another—If the word βαπτίζω were otherwise ever so ambiguous, yet as it relates to baptism, it is sufficiently determined only and necessarily to mean *to dip*—by the doctrine and practice of St. John—of the holy apostles—of the succeeding church for many centuries, which urged a trine immersion—Learned men in general allow this mode of baptism—Mr. Wall pretends, though the ancients did generally baptize by *immersion*, they likewise used *affusion*, or the like—But this was not allowed in common cases—*Aspersions*, how at first admitted—It is unreasonable to argue that the general sense of a law is the same with the exceptions that are made to it—The ancient church of the first centuries did not practise affusion, &c.—St. Cyprian's plea for aspersions very trifling—All who were baptized in the apostles' times were baptized by immersion—The clinical affusions do not appear to have been introduced till about two hundred and fifty years after Christ : at which time they very much doubted of their validity—By the first patrons granted to be only presumptive—All allow *immersion* was insisted on anciently as the only regular way, in all common cases at least—What to be thought of those persons, who at the same time acknowledge this, and yet plead for what is so certainly and demonstrably false on all accounts—An humble remark on the bishop of Salisbury's plea for changing the manner of administering the sacrament here in England—The clergy pretend they would gladly revive the ancient practice, but they do not take the proper methods ; and in reality obstruct its being revived—*Βάπτω* and *βαπτίζω* synonymous.

SIR,

By what I have already said in my former, I believe, it sufficiently appears, that there is nothing in the Scriptures which any way justifies Mr. Wall's supposition; and that whatever he has produced is of no consequence at all: but that you may see, sir, how much reason we have to insist upon it that the word signifies only *to dip*, I would add a farther reflection on this head before I dismiss it.

Our author, that he may evade the force of all that might be said otherwise, appeals to the Scriptures concerning the word, and will be determined by them only in this question; which is so unreasonable a fancy, that I admire any gentleman of understanding should be guilty of it. For the most accurate Greek writers, such as the poets, the grammarians, &c., can undoubtedly give us the true sense of a Greek word as well as the Scriptures themselves, and are as much to be depended on in that respect: unless it be supposed the Scriptures have strangely altered and wholly changed the Greek tongue, and framed a language to themselves which would unavoidably render them very obscure and unintelligible, and so make them unfit for a rule of faith; because this should be plain and evident to the utmost that the nature of the thing will admit, especially in the most essential points. And such an unaffected perspicuity illustriously adorns the sacred oracles, whatever Mr. Wall may imagine to the contrary. But if our author pleases, I will join issue with him here, and agree, that whatever shall be found to be the plain sense of βαπτίζω in Scripture, that only shall pass for the sense of it in relation to the case before us, the sacrament of baptism.

I have already gone through all those places which can be produced from Scripture in favour of Mr. Wall's opinion, and abundantly proved from the Old Testament, that the signification of the word is always *to dip*. Let us now make as strict a scrutiny through the New, and observe, since it is so plain Mr. Wall's sense is not favoured there, whether any thing appears in it for mine.

Almost all the passages, where the word is used in the New Testament, relate to the sacrament of baptism, and therefore can be of no service in our inquiry; for the question is about the sense of it in those places. However, when it is accompanied with any circumstances that may fix the sense, I shall think it fair enough to urge it on my side. All metaphorical passages also are out of doors, because of their ambiguousness and obscurity; though, if they prove either way, they are against Mr. Wall: and those passages, which relate to the Jewish washings, having been already examined, I will not repeat them, but go on to give you all the instances that may be justly cited in this matter; and they are only these that follow, by which therefore the sense of the word must be concluded.

I begin with Luke xvi. 24, which contains the rich Epicurean's prayer to Abraham in heaven, to *send Lazarus that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool his tongue*. The Greek is βύψη. And it can never be questioned, without renouncing common sense, that it is well rendered in our translation by *dip*. Another instance, as full and clear as this, is John xiii. 26, *He it is to whom I shall give a sop when I have dipped it; and when he had dipped the sop, he gave it to Judas Iscariot*. In

the former part of the verse it is βάψας; but in the Alexandrine manuscript ἐμβάψας, as it is also in the latter part of this verse, and in the parallel places, Matt. xxvi. 23; Mark xiv. 20. It can no more be questioned what is the meaning of these words in the original, than what is the sense of the English word *dip*, by which they are so properly translated. . .

It is trifling to enlarge on these, and therefore I go on. The next is Rev. xix. 13. *And he was clothed with a vesture dipped in blood; and his name is called the Word of God.* This expression is so manifestly taken from the dyer's art, that there can be no difficulty or uncertainty in it: for nothing can appear more natural than to understand St. John as representing the person in his vision to have been clothed with a vesture which was dipped [or as it were dipped] in the blood of his enemies. But this I say only upon the supposition, that the vulgar Greek copies retain the true primitive reading. There are several reasons indeed, to make us think the contrary, and that the word is changed; particularly the authority of Origen, whose writings are older than any copies of the New Testament we can boast of; and therefore what he transcribed from ancient copies must be more considerable than any we have. Now he, in his Commentary on St. John's Gospel <sup>a</sup>, cites these words from verse 11 to verse 16, inclusively, almost *verbatim*, as they are in our editions; but reads ἐπασπασμένον, *sprinkled*, instead of βεβαμμένον, *dipped*; which makes this passage nothing to our purpose. However, I should not think this single authority of Origen sufficient to justify my altering the word; but I have likewise

<sup>a</sup> Page 51.



observed that the Syriac and Æthiopic versions, which for their antiquity must be thought almost as valuable and authentic as the original itself, being made from primitive copies, in or very near the times of the apostles, and rendering the passage by words which signify *to sprinkle*, must greatly confirm Origen's reading of the place, and very strongly argue, that he has preserved the same word which was in the autographa. But besides, if the latter word stands, the sense is evidently what I assert.

These are all the instances I know of in the New Testament, where the word is used according to the vulgar application of it: but there are some, where it is applied to baptism, that are considerably in my favour, and shall be taken notice of by and by. In the mean time you see, sir, our author's rule of interpreting a Scripture-word by its use in Scripture is more to my advantage than his; and certainly I have said enough now to satisfy any man in the world, who has the least pretence to common sense and reason, that the word βαπτίζω does always without exception signify only *to dip*. I have confirmed this at large from the writings of the Greek authors, from the opinion of the best critics, and from the constant use of it in the Scriptures themselves too; and since all confess this to be its general and most proper signification, we should never, without manifest necessity, depart from it. I believe I have given sufficient reasons also, why metaphorical passages do not determine against me: for it no more follows from them that βαπτίζω does not signify *to dip*, than that *immergo* does not signify so, because Lactantius for example uses that Latin word to signify

being *given up*<sup>b</sup> to wickedness: which phrase he borrowed perhaps from Origen, who uses the same exactly in his Commentary upon St. John<sup>c</sup>. Besides this metaphorical use of the word is very frequent among the Fathers, as well as among the profane authors, as I observed before; for thus Clemens Alexandrinus says, 'They who through drunkenness are dipped in (βαπτίζόμενοι εἰς ὕπνον) or overwhelmed with sleep<sup>d</sup>.' The same sense Virgil thus emphatically expresses by a word which properly signifies *to bury*.

————— Their forces join

To invade the town, o'erwhelmed with sleep and wine<sup>e</sup>.

And Clemens in another place, which is very remarkable, says, 'And we who were once polluted with these things, are now washed and cleansed. But those who wash themselves in intemperance, from sobriety and a decent behaviour, they immerse, (βαπτίζουσι,) dip into, or give themselves up to fornication, judging it good to indulge themselves in pleasure and vices<sup>f</sup>.' And Gregorius Thaumaturgus uses the word much after the same manner in this passage of his Panegyric upon Origen<sup>g</sup>; 'And reaching his hand to others, he

<sup>b</sup> Lib. vii. de Vita Beata, p. 649. Vitiis immersi.

<sup>c</sup> Page 352. Τῶν πάνυ ὑπὸ τῆς κακίας καταβεβαπτισμένων.

<sup>d</sup> Pædagog. lib. ii. p. 155. Ὑπνώδης γὰρ πᾶς, ὁ μὴ εἰς σοφίαν ἐγρηγορῶν, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ μέθης βαπτίζομενος εἰς ὕπνον.

<sup>e</sup> Invadunt urbem somno vinoque sepultam. Æn. ii. v. 265.

<sup>f</sup> Strom. lib. iii. p. 473. Καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἀπελυσάμεθα, οἱ ἐν τοῦτοις γενόμενοι. οἱ δὲ εἰς ταύτην ἀπολούοντες τὴν ἀσέλγειαν, ἐκ σωφροσύνης εἰς πορνείαν βαπτίζουσι, ταῖς ἡδοναῖς καὶ τοῖς πάθεσι χαρίζεσθαι δογματίζοντες.

<sup>g</sup> Page 72. Ἄλλοις δρέγων χεῖρα διασώζοιτο ὥσπερ βαπτίζομένους ἀνιμώμενος.

‘delivers all, drawing them out (viz. of the difficulties, &c.) in which they are as it were immersed, ‘(βαπτίζομένους) or overwhelmed.’ We may meet with several such as these in Scripture also, as Mark x. 38. *Can ye drink of the cup that I drink of? and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?* Luke iii. 16. *He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire.* Acts i. 5. *Ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence.* 1 Cor. x. 2. *And were all baptized unto Moses, in the cloud and in the sea, &c.*

Can these or such like passages be thought sufficient to justify any man in denying the word signifies only *to dip*? So far from that, I am certain upon a fair examination, it will evidently appear that the natural signification of the word is still the same even in these figures; for the whole vigour and energy of them depends upon it. To argue it does not signify *to dip* from these passages, would be just as ridiculous as if because πίνω is used figuratively, Mark x. 37, therefore any one should pretend it does not signify *to drink*; or again, that βυθίζω does not signify *to sink, overwhelm, or drown*, because in that elliptical sentence, 1 Tim. vi. 9, *which drown men in destruction and perdition*, as the words stand, it cannot be literally true: but though these words here, and all words some time or other, are thus metaphorically used, they have still one fixed, constant sense annexed to them.

There is another thing which perhaps may give some umbrage; I mean, that possibly in some cases the Greek word cannot be so well rendered into English agreeably with our idiom, by any other word than *to wet* or *wash*. But nobody can rea-

sonably from hence infer that the Greek is of as general a signification as the English, by which it is rendered, and stands for any kind of wetting or washing. There are no two languages which so exactly answer as to have no particular word in the one, but the other is provided with a term which signifies neither more nor less, to translate it by. Few people of the same country couple the same complex ideas to the same word, as is evident by most controversies, which have no other original; much more therefore may two several nations different in manners and time, be supposed not to have equivalent words to express a complex idea unvaried. Thus *navigo*, in Latin, will be very often translated into English, *go*, better than by any other word we use; as, 'in Galliam aut Belgium navigare,' to *go* to France or Holland. But it cannot be argued therefore, that *navigo* is of an indeterminate sense, and may equally mean to go either on foot or horseback, by coach or by water; for it always necessarily signifies the last manner of going, and never any other. Again, *suspicionem movere*, is literally *to move suspicion*; and in more proper English, *to give umbrage*. But no man in his wits will go about to argue from hence, that *movere* signifies in general *to give*; and that *hæredes movere*, which is, *to expel the heirs*, may be translated, *to give heirs*: for though in both phrases *movere* means the same thing in itself, namely *to move*; yet it must be rendered into English by words contrary to one another, viz. *to give*, and *to expel*. And the reason is, that the sense of it must be accommodated to the subject it is applied to, and understood accordingly. And though it strictly signifies *to move*, yet

as it is joined with other words, it must be differently turned ; for the same action produces different effects according to the subject it acts upon. Thus when *movere* is joined with *suspicionem*, it signifies ‘to move, give motion and action to suspicions, ‘to set things in a ferment, and cause them to work ‘in the mind.’ But though the word here properly enough signifies *to move*, this sense cannot be better expressed in English than by the words I before made use of, viz. *to give umbrage*. But then, when these two words, *hæredes movere*, are joined together, the same sense of the word expresses the same action and motion, which yet has a different influence on the subject : for to *move* an heir is to put him aside out of the way, from the possession of his inheritance ; for these words *ab hæreditate* seem to be implied. To conclude this matter : it is plain by these examples, and you know it would be easy to give a thousand more, that though the genius of our language may oblige us sometimes to render βαπτίζω, *to wet, or wash, or dye, &c.*, it is most absurd to infer that it therefore signifies any thing else besides or different from *dip* ; whereas it appears to include *dip*, and means *to wet, or wash, or dye, &c., only by dipping*.

If any particulars I have insisted on above should be thought too trifling to deserve arguing about, I am however to be excused ; for it must be considered, that Mr. Wall and others having urged them against us, it was necessary on that account to give them an answer.

And if what I have said should not carry full conviction to any, so as to finish this part of the controversy, yet methinks it is the most reasonable

thing in the world to allow, that though the word had been ever so ambiguous in itself, and extensive in its signification, yet as it relates to the sacrament of baptism, the sense is plainly enough determined in Scripture to be *to dip*, by several circumstances; and that the doctrine and practice of St. John, our Saviour himself, and his apostles, and the primitive church, are sufficient to ascertain how it must be understood and practised; therefore let us hear how the Scripture confirms this particular in our behalf.

That St. John baptized by dipping is as plain as a thing can well be; and were it not for the daring tempers of some men, it would be trifling, in such an excess of light, to attempt to prove it. But because I shall be allowed to say nothing without a demonstration, I refer you to John iii. 23, which will remain unanswerable, until somebody, by a mighty stretch, can find some other turn than has been yet thought of, for the holy penman's giving this as the reason of his baptizing in those parts, *Because there was much water.* Dr. Whitby, on the place, says, 'In which their whole bodies might be dipped;' and adds, 'in this manner only was their baptism performed.' If any other wetting would have served, this had been impertinent, and no reason at all; for there is no habitable part of the world, but would have furnished water enough for that purpose.

Again, Mark i. 5, *And were all baptized of him in the river Jordan, confessing their sins.* Which, I pray you, is most natural to suppose, that the river was poured or sprinkled on them, or they dipped into the river? If it was not the first, it must be the last; for nobody can bring himself to

imagine they were poured or sprinkled on the river, or the river dipped into them. And Mr. Wall himself owns St. John baptized our Lord thus. And this shews what was his method in baptizing. What now can have a greater face of truth, than to think our blessed Saviour, when he appointed this ordinance of baptism, meant the same thing exactly, and understood and intended the word in the same sense that it was known generally and most properly to be used in, and which was fixed to it by the public practice of the person from whom he continued the ceremony?

When people had been used, for some time, to a religious baptism, which was performed by dipping, they could not possibly understand our Lord to mean any thing else; and if he had designed a different manner from that of St. John, he would doubtless, at least, have avoided a word which from St. John's example, if it were nothing else, was liable to be restrained to *dipping* only. But since he has used the same word, which, besides its natural import, was limited to this sense by the practice of St. John, in this very ceremony, and has given us no manner of caution against restraining it to this sense; it follows, that we must in justice allow this alone to be what our Lord intended by it; and accordingly, which carries the thing much farther, the holy apostles, and the first Christians, it is plain, understood it so. Their practice will surely be granted a very good commentary on Christ's institution, and an unexceptionable rule to guide us in setting this matter in its true light.

Hardly any man of learning will deny the Christians of the first times used dipping, and that in

obedience to our Saviour's commission. Thus, when Philip baptized the eunuch, great treasurer to Candace, queen of the Æthiopians, it is said, Acts viii. 38. *And they went down both into the water, both Philip and the eunuch, and he baptized him.* I take this to be a plain case, notwithstanding the little frivolous cavils that have formerly been made against it; and the propriety of the words separately in themselves, and much more in this particular construction, necessitate us to understand them in the sense I maintain.

Besides, there are likewise many allusions which the apostles make, that cannot possibly be understood of any thing but dipping into the water. Grotius noted this before; and undoubtedly the inference is very just. You may read him on Col. ii. 12, where those who had been baptized, are said to be buried with him (viz. our Lord) in baptism, &c. Dr. Hammond, in his paraphrase of this verse, and of Rom. vi. 4, does expressly fix the justness of the allusion in the practice of immersing and dipping persons into the water, which, he allows without any difficulty, was the way at that time. And Dr. Whitby says, 'It is expressly declared here, that we are buried with Christ in baptism by being buried under water;' or, as he words it in his paraphrase, 'plunging us under the water;' which, as he intimates, represented 'the putting Christ's body under the earth.' And indeed the apostle's words, Rom. vi. 3, 4, are so very clear to this purpose, that we need only open our eyes, and read them, to be convinced; *Know ye not, says he, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death? Therefore we are buried with him by*



*baptism into death ; that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life.*

The Apostolical Constitutions give the sense thus : ‘ Baptism is a representation of Christ’s ‘ death ; the water is that wherein we are buried <sup>h</sup>.’ And a little after, ‘ The immersion is the dying ‘ with him ; and emersion, or coming up from under ‘ the water, represents the resurrection.’ And therefore Tertullian likewise says <sup>i</sup>, ‘ We die symbolically ‘ in baptism :’ upon which words Rigaltius remarks, ‘ We are immersed as if we suffered death, and rise ‘ up out of the water, as reviving again <sup>k</sup>.’

And it is worth while to transcribe a passage from St. Chrysostom, where he says, ‘ To be dipped ‘ and plunged into the water, and then to rise out ‘ of it again, is a symbol of our descent into the ‘ grave, and of our ascent out of it : and therefore ‘ Paul calls baptism a burial, when he says, we are ‘ therefore buried with him by baptism into death <sup>l</sup>.’

I argue further, that this continued to be the practice of the primitive Christians, and of many centuries together. St. Barnabas says in his Epistle,

<sup>h</sup> Lib. iii. cap. 17. Τοῖνυν τὸ μὲν βάπτισμα, εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ διδόμενον. τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ ἀντὶ ταφῆς. et paulo post : ἡ κατάδυσις, τὸ συναποθανεῖν ἢ ἀνάδυσις, τὸ συναναστῆναι.

<sup>i</sup> De Resurrectione, pag. 354. Per simulacrum enim morimur in Baptismate, &c.

<sup>k</sup> Mergimur, quasi mortem subeamus. Emergimus, ut reviviscentes.

<sup>l</sup> Hom. 40. in 1 Cor. tom. iii. pag. 514. Τὸ γὰρ βαπτίζεσθαι καὶ καταδύεσθαι, εἰτα ἀναεῖναι, τῆς εἰς ᾧδου καταβάσεώς ἐστι σύμβολον, καὶ τῆς ἐκείθεν ἀνάδου. διὸ καὶ τάφον τὸ βάπτισμα ὁ Παῦλος καλεῖ λέγων, συνετάφημεν οὖν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἰς τὸν θάνατον.

' We descend into the water full of sins and defilement, and come up out of it', &c. Tertullian almost constantly uses *tinguere*, *mergitare*, &c., which signify *to dip*, and *immerse*, as properly as he could possibly express it: and in his treatise concerning baptism he has these words, which describe at the same time the custom of that age, and what they took to have been the practice of St. John, &c. ' It is all one,' says he, ' whether we are washed in the sea or in a pond, in a fountain or in a river, in a standing or in a running water; nor is there any difference between those that John baptized in Jordan, and those that Peter baptized in the Tiber'. In another place he says, ' Our hands are clean enough, which, together with our whole body, we have once washed in Christ'. And Gregorius Thaumaturgus, speaking of the baptism of Christ, uses *κατάδυτον*, *plunge* or *dip*, as a synonymous word for *βάπτιστον*, *dip*, *plunge* me into ' the river Jordan'.<sup>m</sup>

Nay, so far were they from contenting themselves with any thing less than dipping, that it is notorious they very strenuously pleaded for, and insisted on a trine immersion. Thus Dr. Beveridge, late bishop of St. Asaph, explains the forty-second of those canons that are ascribed to the apostles;

<sup>m</sup> Cap. xi. pag. 38. Ὅτι ἡμεῖς μὲν καταβαίνομεν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ γίμοντες ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ ῥύπον, καὶ ἀναβαίνομεν καρποφοροῦντες, &c.

<sup>n</sup> Cap. 4. Ideoque nulla distinctio est, mari quis an stagno, flumine an fonte, lacu an alveo diluatur. Nec quicquam refert inter eos quos Joannes in Jordane, et quos Petrus in Tiberi tinxit.

<sup>o</sup> De Orat. pag. 133. Ceterum satis mundæ sunt manus, quas cum toto corpore in Christo semel lavimus.

<sup>p</sup> In Theophan. pag. 35. Κατάδυσόν με τοῖς Ἰορδάνου Πέλοις.

which rigidly enjoins, ‘If any bishop or presbyter shall administer baptism only by one immersion into the death of Christ, and not by three immersions, let him be degraded’<sup>1</sup>. And Tertullian most expressly says, which evidently demonstrates what was the custom in his time, ‘We are immersed not once, but thrice, viz. unto each PERSON as he is named’<sup>2</sup>: or, as the rubric of the present Greek church expresses it, ‘At each compellation putting him (viz. the baptized person) down into the water, and raising him up again.’ St. Cyril of Jerusalem says very emphatically, ‘plunge them down, καταδύετε, thrice into the water, and raise them up again’<sup>3</sup>. Monnulus, bishop of Girba, in his suffrage, which is the tenth in St. Cyprian’s account of the council of Carthage, calls it *baptismatis Trinitate*, says the learned bishop of Oxford<sup>4</sup>, ‘because it was celebrated by a trine immersion.’

Instead of more citations from the Fathers, give me leave to mention some of our learned moderns, who upon very nice examination, confirm this to have been the practice of the earliest times. And this I choose rather to do, because at the same time it shews, not only that I am right in my assertion, but also that the most learned and judicious critics acknowledge and confirm the truth of it, which is a double advantage.

<sup>1</sup> Ἔτις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, μὴ τρία βαπτίσματα μίας μνήσεως ἐπιτελείη, ἀλλὰ ἐν βάπτισμα τὸ ἐς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου διδόμενον, καθαιρείσθω.

<sup>2</sup> *Adversus Praxeam*, cap. xxvi. pag. 516. Nam nec semel, sed ter, ad singula nomina in PERSONAS singulas tinguimur.

<sup>3</sup> Catechet. Mystagog. cap. ii. pag. 232. Καὶ κατεδύετε εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ πάλιν ἀνεδύετε.

<sup>4</sup> [See Cypriani Opera, edit. Fell, p. 23 2.]

Dr. Beveridge, whom I named but now, at the beginning of his annotations on the fiftieth canon, and in his Vindication of the Canons against Dailé, largely asserts the trine immersion. So does the learned Dionysius Petavius, in these words: 'Their wonted manner of administering this sacrament was to plunge the persons baptized thrice into the water <sup>u</sup>,' &c. And the celebrated Johan. Gerard. Vossius speaks to the same effect in his *Etymologicon*, at the word *baptismus*. Casaubon on Matt. iii. 6, says, 'The form of baptizing was by plunging into the water <sup>v</sup>,' &c. The passage is quoted above at large. Episcopius, in his answer to *Quæst.* 35, tells us, 'Those who were baptized by the ceremony of plunging into the water, and rising out of it again, declared themselves to be as it were dead <sup>x</sup>,' &c. Mons. Jurieu assures us, in his Pastoral letters, that the ancients 'used to plunge persons into the water, calling on the adorable TRINITY <sup>y</sup>.' And in another place, 'Because baptism was then administered by immersion <sup>z</sup>,' &c. And, a little after, 'He that was baptized was plunged into the water <sup>a</sup>.'

<sup>u</sup> De Pœnitentia, lib. ii. cap. 1. §. 11. Ratio autem solita administrandi hujus sacramenti erat, ut ter in aquam immergerentur qui baptizabantur.

<sup>v</sup> Hic enim fuit baptizandi ritus, ut in aquam immergerentur, &c.

<sup>x</sup> Pag. 34. Nam ii qui baptizabantur, ritu isto immersionis et emersionis testabantur se mortuorum instar esse, &c.

<sup>y</sup> Let. v. an. 1686. pag. 36. On se contentoit de plonger les personnes dans l'eau, avec l'invocation de l'adorable Trinité.

<sup>z</sup> Let. vi. an. 1686. pag. 42. Parce qu' alors le bapême se faisoit par immersion, &c.

<sup>a</sup> Celui qui étoit bapême, étoit plongé dans l'eau.

Mons. Le Clerc, whom you so deservedly honour for his great learning, says the same thing, on Rom. vi. 4, 'The manner of baptizing at that time, by plunging into the water those whom they baptized, was an image of the burial of Jesus Christ\*.'

The learned antiquary, Mr. Archdeacon Nicholson, at present bishop of Carlisle, in his letter to sir William Dugdale, concerning the font at Bridekirk in Cumberland, as it is published in the 'additions to Mr. Camden's Britannia', takes notice, 'There is fairly represented on the font a person in a long sacerdotal habit *dipping* a child into the water.' And presently remarks on it thus: 'Now, sir, I need not acquaint you that the sacrament of baptism was anciently administered by plunging into the water, in the western as well as the eastern part of the church; and that the Gothic word **ÐANPIGA**, (Mark i. 8. and **ÐANPIGAN**, Luke iii. 7, 12.) the German word **tauffen**, the Danish word **dobe**, and the Belgic **doopen**, do as clearly make out that practice, as the Greek word **βαπτίζω**.'

I will give you but one citation more, which is too remarkable to be omitted. It is Dr. Whitby's Annotation on Rom. vi. 4. 'It being so expressly declared here, and Coloss. ii. 12. *that we are buried with Christ in baptism*, by being buried under water: and the argument to oblige us to a conformity to his death, by dying to sin, being taken

\* La manière que l'on avoit alors de baptizer, en plongeant dans l'eau ceux que l'on baptizoit, étoit comme une image de la sepulture de Jesus Christ.

† Page 841. [or Gough's edition, iii. p. 183. Compare what is said on this subject above, vol. i. p. 86. vol. ii. p. 43. and in the note there.]

‘hence ; and this *immersion* being religiously observed by *all Christians for thirteen centuries, and approved by our church, and the change of it unto sprinkling even without any allowance from the author of this institution, or any license from any council of the church*, being that which the Romanist still urgeth to justify his refusal of the cup to the laity ; it were to be wished that this custom might be again of general use.’ What follows concerning aspersion being not to the purpose, I omit it.

If you please you may see more instances of this nature in Mr. Stennet’s Answer to Russen, and particularly those taken out of sir John Floyer ; but these, I think, are enough to put it past doubt, that the apostles and primitive Christians did baptize only by immersion ; and that this rite continued in the church for many centuries.

To evade the force of this, Mr. Wall is willing to compound the matter with us ; and allows, they did generally baptize by immersion : but then in some cases, as in danger of death, &c., he pretends they thought affusion or sprinkling sufficient ; and that in such cases it was actually permitted. In answer to this, I say :

1. Supposing these exceptions to be well grounded, and that aspersion was suffered in cases of necessity ; yet even then, it must follow, that according to the sentiments of the ancients, it was utterly unlawful to use aspersion in any common cases, or at all, but in such necessity : for they never thought themselves at liberty to administer this sacrament in what manner they would, as our author pleads ; and that to baptize, as he will have it, is to wash in

any manner: and it is still plain, that a general, and much more then a total disuse of immersion, is the greatest affront to those pious saints, and the whole primitive virgin church, that can be well offered; and it must be no small presumption, to fancy Christ did not enjoin what they so strictly and universally practised.

It is not to be imagined, the pious primitive Fathers, and the whole church of that time, could be guilty of the absurd folly of tying themselves up so unnecessarily, and even contrary to what, according to Mr. Wall, they knew to be the sense of the word, and the design of Christ. This is not at all consistent with his pretended veneration for the Fathers, nor his building his darling pædobaptism so entirely on this foundation. I cannot think they would commit such innovations so early: but if Christ had intended, and the word he expressed himself by had implied, that baptism might be regularly administered by one kind of washing as well as another, they would doubtless have 'stood fast in that 'liberty,' for some time, at least; whereas, even though Mr. Wall's supposition be true, that in some cases of necessity they did dispense with immersion, yet it is plain they held dipping the only general regular way, which nothing but endangering a man's life could make them supersede. This appears from St. Cyprian, the earliest advocate for aspersion; which nevertheless he pleads for only in extraordinary cases.

And it seems at first to have been admitted upon this notion, that *God will have mercy and not sacrifice*; which they understood to mean, that all positive institutions must give way to the eternal

obligation of moral duties. So David, from the necessity of preserving his and his followers' lives, made free with the shewbread, in opposition to the positive command; and our Saviour himself vindicates his disciples, from the same principles, and from this example of David, *Matt. xii.*

This foundation is certainly very good; and they might from hence justify their forbearing to administer this sacrament at all, in such cases, where it is apparent it could not be administered without violating some unchangeable moral duty. But the ancients, who introduced sprinkling or affusion, seemed unwilling to carry the matter so far. In present danger of death they thought it necessary that all should be made partakers of the salutary illumination, without which, they imagined, it would be impossible to obtain salvation; and yet they feared, lest baptizing them according to the institution, might, considering their weakness, occasion their death, and so they should become guilty of murder. To avoid both inconveniences, they thought it best to divide the difficulty; and rather than dispense with the whole sacrament, to make this alteration in the manner of its administration only; which after all was in reality no better than nullifying the whole: for if Christ commanded only *to dip*, as themselves vehemently urge, in all cases where it can be safely complied with, then nothing but dipping is obeying the institution. But they thought it was better to retain some, though but a distant shadow, than to part with the whole ceremony; in hopes God would indulge them in this change, which they were driven to by necessity, as they thought; and that he would annex all those spi-



ritual advantages to it, which should have attended a more regular administration. At most, they only pretended affusion might serve, where immersion could not, as they imagined, take place so well. And this is formally to acknowledge, that, strictly, the institution required immersion only; as most naturally follows from their rigorous insisting on it in all ordinary cases, and allowing affusion as an exception to the rule, upon some emergence where the rule could not be so conveniently obeyed.

Now, no serious reasonable man can be so much overseen, as to think it just to interpret a law by the exceptions that are made to it, any further than to infer the exceptions are different from the law, and opposite to it, the true sense of which should be determined by the ordinary cases it is supposed only to respect.

Though the thing is plain enough in itself, yet having found by experience, how unreasonably some men can cavil as to this point in particular, I thought there was need enough to dwell so long upon it, and make such frequent repetitions. On the same account, I must take the liberty to illustrate what I said in the last words, by an example, which, if possible, may yet make it more plain what it is I mean. Your good sense and candour, sir, I am sensible would save me the trouble; but you tell me my letters shall be shewn, and I do not know who may be my readers: out of precaution therefore, if any of them should think the matter not sufficiently clear, I desire they would consider, whether because the Quakers, by a clause in some Acts, are excused from swearing, they can think the design of the law was to make it indifferent in all

cases, whether any man in general took an oath, or only made the affirmation; and that it should be at the liberty of every one to choose? The Toleration Act binds all persons whatever, not to molest the protestant dissenters in the free exercise of religious worship according to the dictates of their consciences: but at the same time, by a clause purposely inserted, it provides, that no 'papist or 'popish recusant whatsoever, or any person that 'shall deny, in his preaching or writing, the doctrine 'of the *Blessed Trinity*, shall have any ease, benefit, 'or advantage thereby.' Now, can it be imagined from hence, that the full sense and tenor of this act is, that those who are in power have liberty hereby given them, either to tolerate or disturb, as they please, persons dissenting from the established church?

I will compare these instances, to shew they are exactly parallel.

1. The Fathers (on whose practice we are now chiefly arguing) for some centuries, made immersion necessary and indispensable in all ordinary cases. This is so undeniable, that our adversaries allow it; and that, so far as the practice of the primitive Church is our rule, we are obliged, in all ordinary cases, to baptize by immersion. To this, in the instance given, answers the general tenor of the act, viz. that protestant dissenters shall be tolerated in the free exercise of religious worship according to their own way.

2. The primitive Church, as it is supposed, has made an exception to this her general practice, and allows of affusion, to those who are in present danger of death, instead of immersion. So the Act

excepts, together with ‘ papists and popish recusants, ‘ all such as shall deny, in preaching or writing, the ‘ doctrine of the *Blessed Trinity* ;’ to whom it means no protection.

Since the cases then are so far parallel, I might conclude, it is as unreasonable to argue from the exception the ancient Church is supposed to have made in some cases of necessity, that they therefore thought themselves at full liberty always to administer this ordinance by any kind of washing, (which is Mr. Wall’s argument,) as all the world knows it would be, because of that exception made in the act, to infer, that the design and true meaning of it is to oblige all persons to tolerate the dissenters, or disturb them, as they please.

At the same rate it will argue further too, that if those who deny the Trinity, in whatever communion, are not to be tolerated, therefore none is under any obligation to tolerate any of that communion then the Church of England herself cannot so much as make any pretence to toleration neither: for there are some of the rankest Socinians in her bosom that ever appeared. See what strange work Mr. Wall’s art of reasoning would make: but I will leave it to be studied and practised by himself only. As it would be nothing but bantering the Act, and the royal authority which gave it sanction, to argue upon it at this rate; so it must needs make that man appear very ridiculous, who can seriously pretend to argue, that because the ancient Church thought baptism might be administered by affusion in some cases, therefore they thought it might as well be administered so in all.

The ancient Church sufficiently intimates, the

strictness of the law required immersion, and that she understood this to be the sense of Christ in this commission he gave to his apostles; since they had no other authority to urge for making immersion so indispensable in ordinary cases. And as to that exception, it is beyond all controversy, they doubted the validity of it themselves; and it is certain, there is no room for it in the commission, if the command to baptize cannot be obeyed without immersion, as they declare it cannot in ordinary cases. Nor does this same command allow aspersion, or direct to it: and we know of no exception made in the text, nor of any command besides this general one.

The Church of England, and, if our author be right, which I must examine hereafter, the apostles, and primitive Christians too, always admitted infants to baptism, without requiring of them a personal profession of faith, supposing them to be excepted when Christ commanded to baptize those that believe. Now, if this should be granted to be true, would any man be so wild as to infer, that therefore it is indifferent, whether *any* believe and make a profession of their faith before they are baptized; and that Christ has left it entirely to the discretion of every one, whether he will require a public profession of faith from *all* he baptizes, or from *none*, or from *some* only? This is most exactly Mr. Wall's way of arguing.

But thus far I have gone upon the supposition that the apostles and primitive Church did use aspersion: in the next place, I say,

2. This supposition is utterly false and groundless; on which account, there is still much less, or rather no force at all in the objection. No man

living, I am sure, can shew me any foundation for it in Scripture: Mr. Wall does not attempt it; but only insinuates in general, that notwithstanding it is plain from the example of St. John's baptizing Christ, &c., that 'they did in those hot countries ' baptize ordinarily by immersion; it does not follow, ' that in cases of sickness, or other such extraordinary occasions, they never baptized otherwise<sup>d</sup>.' So resolved he is to hold his opinion, that he dares make even the silence of Scripture an argument for him. He forgot, it is likely, his own rule to judge of the sense of a Scripture word, by its use in Scripture; for by the same reason that the Scripture is thought to be of sufficient authority to determine the sense of a word, it is much more of authority to determine what was the practice in relation to an ordinance of Christ; and we ought to acquiesce in the account it gives, and not rashly suppose what is not so much as in the least hinted at.

To the words above cited, our author immediately adds, 'Of this I shall speak in the next chapter.' This filled me with expectation of something which might have an appearance of probability at least; but when I came to the place, nobody was ever disappointed more; for I met with little else but instances from the later centuries: Mr. Wall seems to have forgot his promise, and never goes about to prove that any were baptized in the apostolical times, otherwise than by plunging. St. Cyprian, indeed, in his letter to Magnus, endeavours to justify aspersion by several passages in the Old Testament, after a very frivolous manner; and what but tenaciousness of an opinion could put any one on the

<sup>d</sup> Part ii. p. 219. [328.]

extravagant method of determining the manner of administering a Christian sacrament by obscure passages in the prophets, and by words in the law, which manifestly relate nothing at all to the matter? Nay, which makes the thing still worse, from these passages alone, he determines the matter not only without, but directly contrary to the whole tenor of the New Testament.

Observe here, that this conduct of St. Cyprian is a very plain confession, that there is nothing to favour his notion in the New Testament; and that the sense of the word in our Lord's commission, and other places, is limited so as not to admit of *pour* or *sprinkle*; for otherwise Magnus could not have made a question concerning the validity of aspersion; or if he had, the answer had been very ready and natural, without recourse to the mysterious types and allusions of the Law and the Prophets, viz. to have said, That the common practice of the apostles, &c., sufficiently justified that manner of administration, and more especially, that the general signification of the word used in the commission, comprehended that manner as well as any other.

It is matter of wonder to me, that St. Cyprian should so misapply those texts, and that the learned Dr. Beveridge should so easily give into the error, and venture to say, 'that St. Cyprian had largely proved, and that from the Scriptures themselves too, that baptism might be rightly administered by 'aspersion'.' I will lay one of that Father's proofs before you, sir, that you may judge of the force of his reasonings.

He quotes Numb. xix. 13. *Whosoever toucheth the*

\* In Canon. Apostol. 50. p. 408. b. med.

*dead body of any man that is dead, and purifieth not himself, defileth the tabernacle of the Lord; and that soul shall be cut off from Israel; because the water of separation was not sprinkled upon him.* What man that ever lived, of a common imagination, nay or of the most luxuriant fancy, could have supposed that these words have any respect to a Christian sacrament, or infer from them that it should be administered by sprinkling? But I consider, warm zealous men often see with eyes very different from what other men see with, especially such as are mystically given; for they make mysteries of every thing, and see every thing in their mysteries. So some great headpieces, of a most profound invention to be sure, have discovered both sacraments in the words of the spouse, Canticles vii. 2, *Thy navel is like a round goblet, which wanteth not liquor: thy belly is like an heap of wheat set about with lilies.*

A gentleman who is one of the zealous writers of our time, has improved this in a very surprising manner; and since he has ventured to publish it to the world himself, it can be no crime in me to transcribe the passage in a private letter to a friend: ‘And by the by,’ says he, ‘here is a great controversy solved, namely, between us and the anabaptists, who are against the baptizing of children, because they are not come to years of understanding. Let it be remembered, from what is suggested to us here, that infants (according to the notion which prevailed in those days) receive nourishment by the navel, though they take not in any food by the mouth; yea, though (according to the opinion of those times) they did not so much as use their mouths. So it is no good objection

‘ against baptizing infants, that they are ignorant  
 ‘ and understand not what they do; and that they  
 ‘ are not able to take in the spiritual nourishment  
 ‘ after the ordinary way; if it may be done (as it is  
 ‘ said here) by the navel, by that federal knot or  
 ‘ link which ties them fast to their Christian and  
 ‘ believing parents: which, according to the best  
 ‘ divines, is an unanswerable argument to prove the  
 ‘ validity of infant-baptism; for they belong to the  
 ‘ covenant as they are the offspring of the faithful;  
 ‘ and thence are pronounced holy by the apostle,  
 ‘ 1 Cor. vii. 14. And here also we see further the  
 ‘ congruity of the expression here used by the wise  
 ‘ man: for the use of the navel is not only to con-  
 ‘ vey nutriment to the foetus, but to fasten the foetus  
 ‘ to the mother; which denotes that intimate union  
 ‘ and conjunction with the church of Christ, our  
 ‘ common mother, that is made by the baptismal  
 ‘ performance <sup>f</sup>.’

Whatever the doctor may think of this fine invention, barely to repeat such chimæras is to confute them: and I believe we shall none of us think it worth while to take any further notice of this mighty ‘ solution of the controversy.’

Though I have a great respect for the primitive Fathers, and all learned men; yet their loose expositions and misapplications of Scripture are not to be endured. The citations of St. Cyprian, beside the unfairness of them, run counter to the history of the New Testament, and the primitive church; for as to the apostles themselves, they declare that all who were baptized in their time, were baptized by immersion. Nothing can be more express to this pur-

<sup>f</sup> Dr. Edwards’ Exercitation on Canticles vii. 2. p. 136, 137.



pose than Rom. vi. 3, *As many as were baptized, i. e. all, without exception, who were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death; and this he calls, verse 4, being buried with him by baptism.* So that it is as plain as words can make it, that so many as were baptized into Christ, were buried with him by baptism; and none, I believe, are hardy enough to deny that this means, they were plunged into the water in their baptism. Dr. Whitby, in his Annotations, judiciously observes on the place, that ‘the argument to oblige us to a conformity to his (Christ’s) death, by dying to sin, is taken from hence, that we were buried with him in baptism, by being buried under water<sup>s</sup>.’ Now as he, from this and other reasons, advises to restore the ancient manner of administering the sacrament among us; I infer from it also, that as the duty of conforming to Christ’s death, by a death to sin, obliges all in general; so the argument to enforce it, and persuade to it, should extend to all in common; and the holy apostles, undoubtedly, accommodated their reasonings so as to be conclusive to all. And since the whole stress of St. Paul’s argument lies in the propriety of the representation of Christ’s death and burial, made in baptism; his logic would not have reached to any who had been baptized by affusion, and the like. But as he seems plainly to design, from the consideration of their being buried with Christ by baptism, to persuade all in general to conform themselves to his death; so it seems necessary to suppose from hence, that all were then, and, that the argument may not be rendered useless, should be now, *buried with him by baptism*, by being

<sup>s</sup> [Viz. on Romans vi. 4.]

plunged into the water ; for on no other supposition can the apostle's words be consistent with good sense, or of any force to us now.

It may be said, though the apostles and Christians of their time did not baptize except by immersion, yet their immediate successors in the whole church did, and allowed of affusion, at least in some cases. To this I answer :

1. That though it were true, as it is far from being so, yet having gained this point, that the apostles themselves, who were the master-builders of the true church under Christ, never authorized it, we are safe enough in resolving not to vary from their unexceptionable practice. We desire to be followers of them, even as they were followers of Christ ; and we prefer their authority to all their successors, in opposition to them : and therefore if Mr. Wall should be able to make out his assertion, that the whole church, after the apostles' time, did allow of affusion, we may nevertheless think ourselves obliged to withstand it as an ancient corruption ; for error should not be privileged by age. But,

2. The assertion is not true ; and Mr. Wall's way of proving it would make one think he knew it was not : for he never attempts to cite any instances till about two hundred and fifty years after Christ, which is one hundred and fifty after the apostles, according to his own computation ; that is, from the death of St. John, who lived till more than a hundred years after the birth of Christ. So that in all this space of time, he points us to nothing, from which it can be so much as suspected that baptism was administered by any other way than immersion.

Dr. Beveridge<sup>h</sup>, I know, quotes Tertullian, who died about anno Dom. 220, but this is not early enough neither; and besides, it is very plain to any one that reads the passage, that it does not speak of baptism: '*cujuslibet aquæ*,' is an invincible bar against that sense; which signifies any sort of water, in opposition to that of baptism, and not the water of baptism itself; for the sense lies manifestly thus: 'You are so far,' says the Father, 'from being fit to be admitted to baptism, that nobody would give even a sprinkling of common water to a man of such fallacious and uncertain penance.' I find Rigaltius takes it much to this purpose too, and adds, that 'it is apparent trifling to understand these words of aspersion in baptism: for wherever he speaks of baptism, he uses the words *lavacrum*, *tingere*, *intingere*, *ablui*, *mergitari*, and *immersio*, which do not at all signify aspersion<sup>i</sup>.' This, if it be considered, is an argument that Tertullian knew of no custom in his time, of baptizing by aspersion, or any thing else but dipping. And the other Fathers deliver in as full evidence on our side.

Afterwards, indeed, about the middle of the third century, I own there is mention made of this manner of administering, or, to speak more properly, of eluding the sacrament. Mr. Wall<sup>k</sup> instances in the case of Novatian, near two hundred and fifty years after Christ; and confesses this is 'the most ancient

<sup>h</sup> In Apostol. Can. 50.

<sup>i</sup> Splendide nugantur qui hæc verba de baptismo per aspersionem accipiunt. Nam ubicunque de baptismo sermonem facit, lavacrum dicit, et tingere, et intingere, et ablui, et mergitari, et immersionem, quæ sane adspersionem minime significant.

<sup>k</sup> Part ii. p. 292. [386.]

'instance of that sort of baptism, that is now extant 'in records!'. This acknowledgment is pretty fair, and in effect to own he has no reason to say this sacrament was administered by perfusion, &c., till about two hundred and fifty years after our Saviour. But to have been truly impartial, he should have given notice, that even at that time, they much doubted of the validity of this mode, as evidently appears by the very passage Mr. Wall cites; which shews the judgment of that time was, that one who had been baptized by affusion in sickness on his bed, could not be lawfully admitted to any office in the church: which is the same thing as to say, he was not on a level with others who were baptized more regularly. Our author fetches the reason of this from a canon of the council of Neocæsarea, which however was not made till eighty years after, and therefore cannot be justly brought as any, much less the only reason of an opinion that prevailed so long before. On the contrary, it is clear, as Valesius notes, that 'this baptism was thought imperfect for 'several reasons.' Petavius says, 'Such were thought 'irregularly baptized, and were never admitted into 'holy orders<sup>m</sup>;' attributing it to their perfusion.

There is a remarkable passage relating to this matter, which an unbiassed writer ought not to have omitted; but it shews the judgment of that time was not very agreeable to our author's hypothesis. Cornelius, the sitting bishop of Rome, after mentioning Novatian's case, who had been baptized

<sup>1</sup> Ib. p. 295. [390.]

<sup>m</sup> De Pœnitent. lib. ii. cap. 1. §. 11. Ea lege ut qui sic baptizati fuerant irregulares haberentur, nec unquam in sacros ecclesie ordines admitterentur.

in his bed by perfusion, (for they feared he would instantly die, says the letter,) very frankly adds, by way of caution and distrust, ‘if such a one may be ‘said to be baptized<sup>a</sup>;’ which intimates he made a question of it, and that he had no good opinion of that manner of administering the ordinance. And any one would think, this was the reason why he afterwards says, ‘It was not thought lawful for any ‘who was baptized in his bed, because of sickness, ‘by perfusion, to be admitted to any charge in the ‘Church.’ And this is confirmed by the learned bishop of Oxford, when he says, ‘Novatian was ‘obnoxious on two accounts: first, because he had ‘made a schism on account of the lapsi; and secondly, because, though he had water poured on ‘him in bed, yet he was not baptized<sup>p</sup>.’

Constantine the emperor seems to have been unwilling to trust to the validity of these clinical perfusions, as we may gather from Eusebius’ account of his baptism. And the pious prince himself, in his speech to the bishops, wherein he desires them to baptize him, tells them, ‘he had hoped to have ‘been made partaker of the salutary grace in the ‘river Jordan;’ but a violent fit of sickness, which he rightly apprehended would conclude his life, made him look for that happiness now no longer.

<sup>a</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. vi. cap. 43. Εἰ γε χρὴ λέγειν τὸν τοιοῦτον εὐληφέναι.

<sup>o</sup> Ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐξὸν ἦν τὸν ἐν κλίσῃ διὰ νόσον περιχυθέντα, εἰς κλῆρον τινα γενέσθαι, &c.

<sup>p</sup> In Cyprian. Epist. 69. p. 297. Duplici nomine obnoxius videbatur Novatianus; primo, quod in causa lapsorum schisma fecerit: secundo, quod in lecto perfusus, non autem baptizatus fuerit.

But notwithstanding the danger of the distemper, which actually killed him in a few days, the historian assures us<sup>q</sup>, he was not baptized in his bed, but, as was usual, in the church, called *Martyrium Christi*, in the ordinary way, by Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia; and with great tranquillity of mind soon after expired. But can it be imagined, if perfusion or aspersion was at that time thought so well of, as it is now pretended, that in so dangerous a case, that good emperor, though an old man, should, without any care or tenderness, be baptized in that way they accounted the most inconvenient and unnecessary? No, doubtless, the great respect the bishops had for him, would have inclined them to persuade him to receive baptism in the safest way imaginable.

I observed, that Cornelius, in the above-mentioned letter to the bishop of Antioch, adds, as the sole reason of their taking the liberty of baptizing by perfusion, their supposition that Novatian would quickly die, and not a direct permission in Scripture; which is the same excuse St. Cyprian palliates this practice with: and though he pleads so much for it, he only pretends it was to be allowed of 'in case of urgent necessity';<sup>r</sup> hoping to come off with this fancy.

But this way of baptizing was even then so rare and uncommon, that Magnus, though a 'diligent inquirer into religious matters, was perfectly ignorant of its having ever been usual or allowed in the Church; and rather seems to take it for granted,

<sup>q</sup> Vit. Constant. lib. iv. cap. 62.

<sup>r</sup> *Urgente necessitate*. [p. 186. edit. Fell.]

<sup>s</sup> Cyprian. Epist. 69. initio.

that this case had not occurred before: and therefore he only asks St. Cyprian's opinion about it, what he thought best to be done in it, since neither the practice of the church, nor the Scripture, afforded any rule. Accordingly, St. Cyprian answers only as from his own private opinion, which he seems to give as in a dubious point, as appears from his words, which Mr. Wall translates thus<sup>t</sup>: ' You inquire also, dear son, what I think of such ' as obtain the grace in time of their sickness and ' infirmity, whether they are to be accounted lawful ' Christians; because they are not washed all over ' with the water of salvation, but have only some ' of it poured on them. In which matter, I would ' use so much modesty and humility, as not to ' prescribe so positively, but that every one should ' have the freedom of his own thought, and do as ' he thinks best: I do, according to the best of ' my mean capacity, judge thus,' &c. This answer, sure, is far from determining as if the matter were notorious and certain: and the whole sum of all he says to the purpose, is, that God may, in urgent necessity, dispense with the strictness of the law; for he adds, when, as it were, he draws up the conclusion: ' In the sacraments of salvation, the ' shortest methods of performance, under a pressing

<sup>t</sup> Cyprian. Epist. 69. p. 297. Quæsisisti etiam, fili carissime, quid mihi de illis videatur qui in infirmitate et languore gratiam Dei consequuntur, an habendi sint legitimi Christiani, eo quod aqua salutari non loti sint, sed perfusi. Qua in parte nemini verecundia et modestia nostra præjudicat, quo minus unusquisque quod putat, sentiat, et quod senserit, faciat. Nos, quantum concipit Mediocritas nostra, æstimamus, &c. [p. 185. edit. Fell.]

‘ necessity, (not else by the way,) do, by God’s gracious indulgence, confer the whole benefit<sup>a</sup>.’

I think it is considerable, and well worth our notice, that Cornelius and Magnus saw nothing in Scripture to abet this practice, nor understood our Lord’s institution, or any words or phrases, to be of a latitude to countenance it; nor that clinical affusions were ever used or favoured in the history of the apostles, or of their successors. If they had, they could not have questioned their validity: and St. Cyprian, so willing as he is to have the thing admitted, does not argue from any of these heads, which is particularly to be observed. For it is known he was a warm man, and a great friend of the power of the clergy; of a lively genius: and therefore certainly would never have neglected these mighty arguments, which are so directly to the purpose; and have contented himself with only speaking doubtfully of the matter, and citing a text or two, to shew, that aspersions were in use under the law: and then, after all, refer it to the determination of every one, who, he says, might lawfully think and act in the case as he should judge fit; which is placing the whole validity in the bishop’s determination. No, this is not like St. Cyprian at all; he doubtless would have pleaded the practice of the apostles. With what a grace and energy might he have replied to Magnus, in the words he uses on another occasion: ‘ If we look back to the head and ‘ origin of divine tradition, the errors which are of

<sup>a</sup> Page 298. In sacramentis salutaribus, necessitate cogente, et Deo indulgentiam suam largiente, totum credentibus conferunt divina compendia. [p. 186. ed. Fell.]



‘human original will cease; and from thence, the nature of the celestial sacraments being well understood, whatever was obscured with mists, and hid in clouds of darkness before, will then appear in its true light \*.’ And a little after: ‘Thus it becomes the priests of God to do, who would keep the divine law. If the truth at any time be shaken, or uncertain; let us look back to the divine evangelic origin and apostolic tradition,’ &c. And further, he would not have failed briskly to urge our Saviour’s meaning, and the large sense of the word βαπτίζω, had he found them to be on his side. This had been sounding the matter to the bottom, and solving the thing at once, in the most direct way that could be thought of, and beyond any possible reply. But that he should wholly neglect this, and reason only from the sprinklings under the law, hunting out far-fetched inferences, doubtful presumptions, very little or nothing to the purpose, and then leave the case so uncertain at last, is an argument to me, that neither Christ, nor the apostles, nor the church, were believed, even in St. Cyprian’s time, to have known or permitted these clinical affusions, &c. But I am the more confirmed in my inference, from this consideration, that the rest of the church, and all the Fathers that have lived in it,

\* Epist. 74. p. 317, 318. Nam si ad divinæ traditionis caput et originem revertamur, cessat error humanus; et sacramentorum cœlestium ratione perspecta, quicquid sub caligine ac nube tenebrarum obscurum latebat, in lucem veritatis aperitur. *Et paulo post*: quod et nunc facere oportet Dei sacerdotes præcepta Divina servantes; ut si in aliquo nutaverit et vacillaverit veritas, ad originem dominicam et evangelicam, et apostolicam traditionem revertamur, &c. [p. 215. edit. Fell.]

as well as St. Cyprian, till lately, have had the ingenuity to waive those other topics, and defend affusion, &c., alone by the hope of God's indulgence toward them, in altering that circumstance only in a case of necessity; and never dared attempt to justify it from Scripture, or the practice of Christ and his apostles, as now for some time has been done. For Mr. Wall cannot find an ancient writer who will pretend, with him, that baptism may be administered indifferently in any manner; much less any who argues from the signification of the Greek word, or any passage in the Christian canon, that affusion, or the like, is good or regular baptism: on the contrary, it appears they always insisted much upon immersion; and in a very ancient council, held here in England, under Kenwulf king of the Mercians, anno 816<sup>y</sup>, it is expressly ordered, that baptism shall not be administered by sprinkling, but by dipping. But what need is there to urge this, since our author allows that the opinion of the necessity of immersion, at least in ordinary cases, continued in most parts of the world, especially in England, for a long time; and still prevails in the Greek church, and, as he observes, wherever the pope has had no power; seeming to attribute the alteration to the liberty which he took and taught?

By this, sir, I would satisfy you, that the church, even when it had admitted affusion, which it did only in necessity, never pretended, as Mr. Wall does, to ground it on the words of Christ, or on ecclesiastical practice: and this implies that they do in effect deny, against our author, that it could be

<sup>y</sup> [See Synodus Calcuthensis, cap. xi. apud Wilkins Concilia Mag. Brit. tom. i. p. 171.]

defended from thence. So that we have the reason of the thing, and the testimony of all antiquity, as Petavius says<sup>2</sup>, with the concurring authority of the whole church for many ages, against our author in this point.

Thus I have made it plain, from the constant use of the word βαπτίζω in the Greek authors, the Seventy, and the New Testament, and from the authority of the best critics and most learned men, that it always signifies only *to dip*, or *plunge*, &c., and likewise that St. John, our Saviour, the apostles, and the whole primitive church, constantly taught and practised accordingly; and that afterwards, when the church took the liberty to admit sprinkling or affusion, it was thought imperfect and irregular, and allowed in cases of necessity only, on a bare presumption of God's indulgence. To which I added, that the church never went about, till lately, to justify affusion, &c., by the doctrine, or by the practice of Christ, the apostles, and primitive times. From all this therefore it strongly follows, that baptism ought constantly to be administered by *immersion* or *dipping* only; and that affusion, sprinkling, or the like, are groundless, unwarrantable, and very dangerous corruptions: and that it is as good sense to say a man is dipped, when only a drop or two of water falls on him, as to say he is baptized, when he is only *sprinkled*.

Suffer me to put the question here: since the clergy allow, in general, dipping was the ancient manner, universally practised by St. John, by Christ, his apostles, and the whole church, for a long time

<sup>2</sup> Loco supra laudato.

together, and insisted on as the lawful and regular way, necessary in all common cases at least; and that the primary sense of the Greek word is *to dip*: nay, since they have wished this custom might be again restored among us here in England, as it continued till about queen Elizabeth's time; why, after all these concessions, &c., do they pretend it is indifferent, and that baptism may be rightly administered any way; presuming, with Casaubon, 'the force and energy of this sacrament is not 'placed in the manner' of its administration? and why do they continue in the constant use and practice of aspersion, &c., and defend it, in opposition to immersion?

Here I am necessitated humbly to take notice of the excuse which the most judicious and learned bishop of Sarum has thought fit to make, for changing the manner of baptizing by *dipping* into that of *sprinkling*. His lordship is pleased to observe on the twenty-seventh article, that the primitive way of administering baptism, was to 'lead them 'into the water,' &c., 'and first lay them down in the 'water,' &c. 'then they raised them up again,' &c., which is a most express acknowledgment, that immersion was the true primitive manner; but yet afterwards, on the thirtieth article, page 346, he says, 'The danger of *dipping* in cold climates may 'be a very good reason for changing the form of 'baptism to *sprinkling*.' This excuse is now become very common, and however insufficient it may seem in itself, has gathered considerable force by

\* In Matt. iii. 6. Cum non in eo posita sit Mysterii hujus vis et 'Ενέπρεια.

being used by men of his lordship's good sense and learning. But however great and honourable the patrons of a mistake may be, they are but men; and the authority of Christ, and the respect and obedience we owe to his commands, should counterbalance all other considerations: and his lordship's own words a little after, against communicating in one kind only, had been much more suitably applied to the sacrament of baptism, than those above cited, and are a full answer to them. It is with abundance of pleasure I learn from his lordship, that 'An institution of Christ's must not 'be altered or violated, upon the account of an 'inference that is drawn to conclude it needless. 'He who instituted it, knew best what was most 'fitting and most reasonable; and we must choose 'rather to acquiesce in his commands, than in our 'own reasonings<sup>b</sup>.' Thus does his lordship admirably argue, with that force and solidity that eminently appears in all his lordship's writings.

It is pretended the clergy would gladly revive the ancient practice, and desire, according to the direction of the rubric, to baptize by *dipping* all that are willing to receive it in that manner, and able to bear it. But if this pretence be real, why do not they take proper methods (unless they think it a trifle not worth their care) to recover it, and put down sprinkling; to reform an error, which will but grow stronger, and increase by continuance? for when no other argument can be found, antiquity and custom will be pleaded. If the clergy would, according to their declared judgment in the case,

<sup>b</sup> Page 347.

heartily endeavour to recover the true primitive practice, I am well assured they could not possibly fail of success: for I know that many, and I believe the greatest part of the Church of England, take their opinion of aspersion from the authority and practice of the reverend clergy; it being observable, this is the main thing they urge in its defence. So that notwithstanding their pretences, it is to be feared the clergy are a great cause of the corruption, and its continuance. And how they will ever be able to answer this to God or their own consciences, I know not, but heartily wish they would take it timely into consideration.

I do not know, sir, whether you will except against my taking the words βάπτω and βαπτίζω for synonymous. Some have formerly made a wide difference between them, allowing the first indeed to signify what we contend for, but maintaining that βαπτίζω, being a derivative with a termination which they call a diminutive, does not signify so much as βάπτω; but I think it is plain from the instances already mentioned, that they are ἰσοδύναμοι, exactly the same as to their signification; though some (as Tertullian seems to have done when he rendered it by *mergitare*, and Vossius and Stephens) take it for a frequentative, which signifies more than the derivative, and not less; as in English, *to dip over and over again*. Besides, Mr. Wall seems to allow them to be synonymous, because he argues promiscuously from both. But I need not enlarge upon this; for all who are any thing acquainted with the Greek tongue, know the common criticism to be nothing but a ridiculous piece of pedantry. I will however

subjoin a few instances in the margin <sup>c</sup>, to shew, derivatives in ζω signify the same as their primitives; which you may examine at your leisure. I am,

Sir,

Yours, &c.

<sup>c</sup> Βλύνω, βλύνω. Θύω, θυάω. Βορβορόω, βορβορίζω. Ὀρκόω, ὀρκίζω. Ἀλέγω, ἀλεγίζω. Καναχέω, καναχίζω. Ἔθω, ἐθίζω. Ἡθώ, ἠθίζω, et infinita alia.

## LETTER VI.

THE other chief article in dispute between the baptists and their adversaries—They continually repeat the most trifling objections, though they have been fairly answered over and over ; which has made it necessary to say a great deal to what has been well enough answered already, and concerning things which are very plain of themselves—The late handling of this controversy has convinced the world, the baptists are not that unreasonable sect they were represented to be ; and it is not to be doubted but the reviving the dispute at present may go far to open people's eyes yet much more in their favour—It is pity some friendly measures are not taken to compose the difference, which is not so impracticable as some fancy—Mr. Wall's attempt, though the best in its kind, falls very short of answering the design of it—His scheme—He first allows it cannot be made appear from Scripture that infants are to be baptized ; and therefore recurs to these as the only expedients—1. To the practice of the Jewish church—2. To the practice of the ancient Christians—Some reflections which overturn all he says as to his main conclusion, though he should prove these two points ever so solidly—From his concession, that it cannot be proved from Scripture, it unavoidably follows, that it is no institution of Christ—And to suppose it may be included in some of the more general expressions, is only to beg the thing in dispute—Unless he can shew us infant-baptism is so much as mentioned in Scripture, we shall not believe it is instituted there—Our author makes the Scriptures the rule of language ; which he therefore ought with much more reason to make the only rule of his faith and practice—The baptism of infants is unlawful, if Christ has not instituted it—True protestants should adhere to the Scripture, as the only infallible guide in all religious controversies—They who do otherwise seem to be too near the church of Rome, as to the article of tradition at least ; which is an inlet to all the rest—Our adversaries act very inconsistently in rejecting tradition, in their disputes with the Romanists, while they recur to it as their main refuge in the present dispute with us—That infant-baptism ought not to be practised, is



proved from our author's principles, compared with the Articles of the Church—It gives the Romanists a handle to weaken the reformation with too much advantage—The Articles of the Church directly against traditions—The Scripture's silence as good an argument against pædobaptism as can be desired—We find a strong tendency in our minds to depend upon the Scriptures only—We are obliged by any sort of law, &c., only to the particulars the said law expresses—This illustrated by instances, and by an undoubted maxim from Tertullian—Applied also to the present dispute, and illustrated by more instances—Some build the ecclesiastical hierarchy mainly on that very foundation on which the baptizing of infants is opposed—Mr. Wall sometimes argues in the same manner as the baptists do against pædobaptism—The objection, that Christ nowhere forbids us to baptize infants, answered—We are forbid to teach the traditions of men for commandments of God—The pædobaptist's argument enervated by Tertullian—Though the Scripture's silence may sometimes, it does not always, leave it so much as lawful to do what it does not mention.

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SIR,

Now we have taken breath a little ; if you please, sir, we will enter upon the other chief article in dispute between us and our adversaries.

If Mr. Wall, like some others, had argued with a great deal of concern, that it is unlawful to dip those who are baptized, because it is a breach of the sixth commandment, and virtually to murder ; undoubtedly you would say this could not have deserved an answer, and yet it could not fairly have been passed by neither.

Of the same kind exactly, or it may be more trifling, are the two main foundations of infant-baptism, I mean the celebrated arguments from original sin, and from circumcision ; which have been so

often and fairly baffled, and yet are continually returned upon us as gravely, as if nothing had ever been said to them.

And if I should be necessitated to make a formal answer to these and some other such pretences, you know where to lay the fault, though I design to avoid it all I can.

We were once taken for a very strange sort of people, and accordingly were furiously attacked without any moderation; but our adversaries at length thought fit to let the controversy drop, the effect of which has been only to persuade the world we are not that unreasonable, mischievous sect we were represented to be. And it has been made appear, that we have abundantly more to say for ourselves than was believed or expected. This has been the only consequence of the warm handling of this controversy not long since. And I do not doubt but the more it is canvassed, the more people's eyes will be opened in our favour; and therefore I am not displeased, some go about to revive the dispute again.

I only wish a more impartial and learned examination of these matters might be seriously entered on; for it is highly necessary, points of this nature should be determined, if possible. And, I think, it lies on our adversaries, either to renounce their error, or else to justify themselves more solidly, by setting things in another light.

I should be heartily glad if some amicable measures might be concerted, in order to compose the difference, and put an end to the dispute. Perhaps it is not a design altogether impracticable, and I am sure it would be very useful, if it should be managed

in that becoming manner, in which we are convinced by a late glorious instance, I mean that of the Union<sup>d</sup>, that the most nice and difficult points may be treated and adjusted with success. But it is observed, ecclesiastics are too often subject to the same passions with other men.

In the meantime let us examine Mr. Wall's attempt, which I have owned is the most considerable of any thing I have seen of the kind: for he has amassed together the substance of all that can with any show of reason be insisted on: and thus he lays his scheme.

He first very freely allows, (and indeed what unprejudiced man would venture to assert the contrary?) that it cannot be made appear from the Scriptures that infants are to be baptized. For in the commission, Matt. xxviii. 19, 'there is no particular direction given what they [the disciples] were to do in reference to the children of those that received the faith<sup>e</sup>.' Nor is there in any other place<sup>f</sup>, 'among all the persons that are recorded as baptized by the apostles, express mention of any infant.—And the proofs drawn by consequences from some places of Scripture [for any one side of this question] are not so plain, as to hinder the arguments drawn from other places for the other side, from seeming still considerable<sup>g</sup>.' All which

<sup>d</sup> [The Union of Scotland with England was brought to a conclusion in the year 1707.]

<sup>e</sup> Peface, near the beginning.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> [Dr. Wall does not finish his sentence here, nor are his sentiments fairly expressed: he had said, that 'the proofs &c.—are not so plain, as to hinder the arguments—from seeming still considerable to those that have no help from the history of the

is, in short, to grant that infant-baptism cannot be proved from Scripture. To balance which, he likewise supposes it cannot be proved they were not to be baptized.

This is his first position, and the ground of the whole superstructure. For hence he infers in the next place, that recourse must be had to some other means, which may serve to clear up and interpret the law, and fix the sense, which he thinks is not so free from ambiguity as it ought to be.

In order to this, he proposes these two as the only expedients: 1. To inquire 'what was the state of the Jewish religion, as to baptism, at and before that time when our Saviour gave his order for baptizing all the nations.' 2. 'To learn as well as we can, how the first Christians did practise in this matter; whether they baptized their infants or not<sup>h</sup>.' Now if our author can shew that the Jews did, before and at the time of Christ's sending out his disciples, baptize the infants of their proselytes; and that the primitive church immediately after the apostles' time did likewise use to baptize the infants of Christian parents; he thinks that practice sufficiently proved to have been instituted by Christ.

And, though there is no necessity for it, we might well enough venture to put the matter upon this issue with him, that when he or any one else shall be able to prove these two points, or indeed either of them, we should unite ourselves to the established church, and immediately own we have been hitherto

*'Scripture-times for the better understanding of the rules of Scripture.—Surely this is a very different conclusion from that which Mr. Gale would represent him to have drawn.'*

<sup>h</sup> Introd. pag. 2. med. [2, 3.]

mistaken : which however is too much to promise on this single condition ; though I am fully persuaded it is impossible for any man to fulfil it. That our author has not done it, I shall shew you hereafter ; and in the meantime I will make a reflection or two, which I think will take off the force of all he says to establish his general conclusion, viz. that Christ commanded to baptize infants ; even upon the supposition that he proves these two particulars ever so solidly.

And first, you may be pleased to observe his concession, which is a very unhappy one for him : for indeed it does most effectually ruin the cause he asserts ; it being an unavoidable consequence from it, maugre all his other attempts, that infant-baptism is no institution of Christ : and if so, though all the Jews and Fathers in the world have practised and maintained it ever so laboriously, we shall not think ourselves under any obligation on that account to do so too ; because we profess not to be followers of them, but of Christ alone.

St. Cyprian, the darling author of our warmest adversaries, and the ancientest patron of infant-baptism, has a very remarkable passage to this effect, which is worth transcribing. Some in his time made so free with the other sacrament, as to presume to use water only instead of wine ; for which too it seems they pleaded antiquity. And the Father answers them thus : ‘ If in that sacrifice which Christ offered, none but Christ is to be followed, then certainly we ought to obey Christ, and do what he commanded us to do ; since he says in the Gospel, *If ye do what I command you, henceforth I call you not servants but friends.* And that

‘ Christ only is to be obeyed, even the Father witnesses from heaven, saying, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him.*’  
 ‘ Wherefore, if Christ only is to be our guide, we are not to regard what some others before us have rashly presumed to do, but only what Christ, who is before all, first practised. We are not to follow the customs of men, but the truth of God; for God, speaking by the prophet Isaiah, says, *In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.*’ And a little after he concludes, it is very dangerous ‘ to change any thing by human traditions, from what it was at first by divine institution.’

But it will be expected I should make out the conclusion I drew from our author's concession. I do not desire to take any thing for granted which I can imagine may be in the least doubted of, even by any man who would be thought reasonable.

Mr. Wall confesses, all the passages in Scripture relate to the baptism of adult persons, and gives this as a reason why the antipædobaptists are so successful in their public disputations. ‘ Having plain places of Scripture,’ says he, ‘ to produce concerning adult-baptism, and several examples of it; they work much on such of the people as had not minded this before, and had not had a right state of the question between the pædobaptists and the antipædobaptists: wherein the former grant that in a nation newly converted to Christianity, (and such are all the cases mentioned in the Scripture,) the adult people must be baptized first, before their infants can be baptized.’ But this he supposes is

<sup>i</sup> Part ii. page 276. [362.]

no proof that therefore their infants were not to be baptized at all.

To this let us add what I cited before<sup>k</sup>; where he allows, first, 'that there is no particular direction 'given what they were to do in reference to the 'children of those that received the faith, [whether 'they should be baptized or not]<sup>l</sup>:' and secondly, that 'among all the persons that are recorded as baptized by the apostles, there is no express mention 'of any infant.' And the consequence from the whole put together must be very strong, that even upon his own principles there is as little ground for infant-baptism in the Scriptures, as there is for any thing whatever of which that sacred rule is totally silent.

Nay, on the contrary, and as he himself proposes the matter, the advantage lies considerably against him on our side; the great evidence and plainness of the truth, which renders it so obvious to every man, obliging him to confess, that there are in the Scriptures many plain places and examples which make entirely for adult-baptism, while no single passage can be found there, which even he himself dares say, makes plainly for the baptism of infants, who are not so much as once mentioned where baptism is spoken of.

Now to say that in proselyted nations the adult are first to be baptized; and that all the cases in Scripture are of this kind; and that therefore all the passages of Scripture which speak of baptism are to be understood particularly of adult-baptism;

<sup>k</sup> [Preface, near the beginning.]

<sup>l</sup> [The words which I have enclosed within brackets are not in Dr. Wall.]

and farther, that there is no example nor direction of any kind, that infants ever were or ought to be baptized: what is all this, but a full and explicit confession that the Scriptures are wholly silent in this matter, and know nothing of infant-baptism at all?

But because this would be granting too much, our author, to moderate the force of it, supposes (and indeed it is at best but a supposition) in some general expressions infants are to be included, as in the commission, Matt. xxviii. 19; and perhaps other passages elsewhere; and John iii. 5, which he reckons<sup>m</sup> the plainest argument for infant-baptism, and, with the ancient pædobaptists, the chief ground of it. But to affirm infants are intended as well as adult in these and such like places, is begging the question, and asserting the thing instead of proving it.

It is true, Mr. Wall, to do him justice, has not done so; but sparing the assertion, he would seem to propose it as a thing in itself a little doubtful, and therefore goes about to clear it up, from the practice of the Jews and primitive Christians; which however we shall see hereafter make nothing for him.

In the mean time, unless he can shew us, at least by good consequence, that infant-baptism is so much as mentioned in the Scriptures, we shall not believe it is instituted there, though we are told it ever so often. But whatever may be pretended at other times, thus much most plainly and necessarily follows from, or rather is the very sense of, our author's words above cited, viz. that as to infant-baptism in

<sup>m</sup> Part ii. pag. 122. [180.]



particular, the Scriptures are wholly silent ; and all he pretends is, not that he sees it by any necessary inference, but only that *probably* it may be comprehended in some of the more general passages ; that is in short, they are fully resolved to find it somewhere ; but I think it much more *probable*, that if it had been an institution of Christ, it would have been mentioned in some passage of holy writ, as well as we see adult baptism frequently is. However, we are not to take up with suppositions and bare assertions ; and therefore, if our antagonists would convince us they must not surmise, but plainly shew us that infant-baptism is indeed contained in the Scriptures ; for if it is not there, we regard no other authority, and therefore shall not think ourselves much concerned to account for our rejecting it.

I should not have insisted on this so long, but only that it shews Mr. Wall has ruined his whole design by what he lays down at first : for if infant-baptism cannot be found in Scripture, as he confesses ; then it ought not to be practised, especially in the stead, and to the excluding, of that which is plainly instituted in it.

You may remember, sir, that our author would allow of no other way to determine the sense of the Greek word βαπτίζω, than by observing how it was used in the Scripture. So that when he fancies it may be serviceable to him, the Scripture must be the only rule even of language. It is the rule we know of our faith and practice, and was designed for that ; but not to be the standard of speech, which is continually altering, and depends upon custom. If Mr. Wall therefore will needs have us

refer ourselves entirely to the Scriptures for the sense of a word, it is much more reasonable, I hope, to determine all controversies by them, that relate to the Christian religion, which is instituted by God, and contained in those sacred books. If infant-baptism then is not to be found in Scripture, no Christian is obliged to practise it. This inference is drawn wholly from Mr. Wall's own premises, and therefore I take it for an unanswerable argument, at least *ad hominem*, as they call it.

And further, this topic proves not only that we are not obliged to practise the baptizing of infants; but on the contrary, that it is unlawful to do it. The case of the Jews was parallel; of whom Christ says, Matt. xv. 6, *Thus have ye made the commandment of God of none effect by your tradition*: and afterwards applies to them these words of the prophet, *But in vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men*. For (as St. Mark vii. 8, adds) *laying aside the commandment of God, ye hold the tradition of men, as the washing of pots and cups: and many other such like things ye do*. Nay these words are much more severe upon the pædobaptists now, than they were upon the Jews then; for they had the command of God for washing of cups, &c., in some cases; and this washing of cups, &c., did not jostle out any other religious duty: whereas the pædobaptists have not the least countenance from God for infant-baptism at all; which has nevertheless, through the prevailing power of custom and interest, too generally, but it is to be hoped not past all probability of recovery, superseded the one primitive, true, apostolical baptism, of which only it is confessed the Scripture

speaks, viz. that of adult persons upon profession of their faith: which is a thing very rarely seen or heard of now in the greatest part of the Christian world, their traditionary pædobaptism being substituted in its room.

Methinks the gentlemen, our antagonists, whose authority and example, I must say, *delude* the people (who generally plead nothing else but the authority of their spiritual guides in defence of this practice) into this error, should more closely consider those awful words of St. Paul, Gal. i. 9, *If any man preach any other Gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed.* A dreadful sentence, and not pronounced in vain! And Christ himself has promised to confirm the sentence of his apostles, John xx. 23, *Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.* They would do well to consider, whether teaching a different, that is, another baptism from that which is so plainly taught in the Scriptures, does not fall under this anathema. For my part, I cannot but think the teaching and practising any thing not contained in Scripture, as a Commandment of God, especially if it sets aside something that is plainly to be found there, must, at least in some measure, seem to fall under the condemnation in these words, unless where ignorance may be pleaded in excuse.

Such as are true friends to the protestant cause, ought always to have particular regard to that which is the chief corner-stone in its foundation; which is, to have no other rule of faith, or judge of controversies, beside the sacred word of God. For if once we admit of any other, we directly give up

our cause, and expose ourselves to all the impositions and inconveniences which are the inseparable attendants of popery.

This our most reverend and wise reformers knew perfectly well, and therefore piously used all endeavours to have the Bible, as the best rule, published in the English tongue ; but not without the violent and powerful opposition of the partisans of Rome, who knew it was the most effectual way to ruin their kingdom of darkness and superstition, in which they had such considerable interests. It has but an odd aspect then, for any here among us to offer to advance another rule besides the Scriptures, in matters of this kind ; though perhaps they may not intend or see the ill consequences of it ; and I would hope and believe they do not : yet still, to imitate the actions of those who at first *per fas et nefas* opposed our glorious and happy reformation, seems at least to bespeak that those who do so are much in the same interest, as to the point of tradition at least.

But all I will at present infer from it, shall be only the inconsistency of our antagonists' principles, in rejecting tradition, and appealing to the Bible as the sole authority, when they dispute against the papists ; and in building at the same time the baptism of infants only on the pretended tradition of the church. That is, they will discard tradition when it is against them ; but if it will serve to support any particular doctrine or usage they are fond of, then it must be admitted.

Our author at his ordination, in the most solemn manner, declared upon oath his free and full assent to the Articles of the Church of England ; and

therefore I may take them for incontestable principles with him, and indeed with the whole clergy of that church. Now, the sixth article, you know, sir, declares, ‘That whatsoever is not read therein, (viz. ‘ in the holy Scriptures,) nor may be proved thereby, ‘ is not to be required of any man, that it should be ‘ believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.’ The words of the learned bishop of Sarum on this passage<sup>a</sup>, which he indeed aims against the church of Rome, are so applicable to another church too, in reference to the point in controversy between her and us, that I shall take leave to transcribe some of them. ‘ If ‘ this is our rule,’ says his lordship, ‘ our entire and ‘ only rule, then such doctrines as are not in it, ‘ ought to be rejected; and any church that adds to ‘ the Christian religion, is erroneous for making ‘ such additions, &c. So all the additions of the five ‘ sacraments, of the invocation of angels and saints, &c., ‘ of the corporeal presence in the eucharist, &c., with ‘ a great many more, are certainly errors, unless ‘ they can be proved from Scripture.’

And so likewise is pædobaptism, which Mr. Wall confesses cannot be proved from Scripture: and what the right reverend bishop adds, is as true of this as of any of those errors he has mentioned; of which he says, ‘ they are intolerable errors, if as the Scripture is express in opposition to them, so they defile the worship of Christians (I forbear to add, as ‘ his lordship does, with idolatry). But they become ‘ yet most intolerable, if they are imposed upon all ‘ that are in that communion; and if creeds or oaths, ‘ in which they are affirmed, are required of all in

[<sup>a</sup> See Burnet on the Articles, Art. vi. p. 78.]

'their communion. Here is the main ground of  
'justifying our forming ourselves into a distinct  
'body from the Roman church; and therefore it is  
'well to be considered.'

His lordship very necessarily added these last words; and it is great pity that matter is so little considered: for had it been more strictly observed, the reformation would have been long since carried to a much higher degree of perfection, and every evil work, and every thing which offends, taken away: whereas the want of adhering to 'the main  
'ground' of the reformation has unhappily afforded the Romish party an opportunity to give it some terrible shocks.

They have often, and with great advantage, argued from infant-baptism; which, they strongly assert, is only grounded on the tradition of the church; and therefore will always remain an unanswerable argument for tradition, against all such as admit of that practice. To this the reformed divines have yet never made any solid answer; and those passages which Mr. Stennet, in answer to Russen, has translated from the ingenious Monsieur Bossuet, will be a standing unanswerable objection to the pædobaptist protestants, and cannot be solved but by flinging up infant-baptism, or else by shewing it to be founded on Scripture, which nevertheless, it is confessed, cannot be done: and the anonymous answer to the bishop of Meaux ingenuously acknowledges, that 'the passages produced do at most only  
'prove, that it is permitted, or rather that it is not  
'forbidden, to baptize infants.'

And who now would imagine that protestants should so generally, and that too after they have

been often reminded of it by the most learned prelates, and others of the Romish communion, their adversaries, still continue to practise what is so well demonstrated to be erroneous, I may say unlawful; especially since it gives the Romanists such a handle to pursue this example on their side in establishing what corruptions they please, and abrogating any of our Saviour's laws? For their inference is undoubtedly very just, that if tradition and the church's authority be a sufficient ground for altering one sacrament, it must likewise be sufficient to justify any changes made in the other, though it be the denying the cup to the laity; and it will be a sufficient warrant also to introduce as many other sacraments as they think fit to invent: and thus *confirmation, penance, extreme unction, ordination, and matrimony*, are proved to be as properly and truly sacraments, as the two which Christ instituted, viz. baptism and the eucharist.

But our prudent reformers, in order to deliver us effectually, and prevent all after-attempts from the Romish church, made it a fundamental article of their new constitution, which all the clergy at least are obliged indispensably to give their free assent to upon oath, that traditions, &c., are not to be admitted as a rule.

The whole sixth article, it is plain, and more directly those words a little before transcribed, were intended, as my lord of Salisbury does yet more fully explain and apply them, against that dangerous error of the Romish church, which is, as it were, the foundation of all the rest. This article declares against setting up any other rule of faith, of any kind whatever, in competition with the canonical

books of the Old and New Testament: and all who enter into orders do forswear any other.

But how Mr. Wall, or any man who owns infant-baptism cannot be maintained but by the traditions of the church, and yet practises it; I say, how any such person can excuse himself of prevarication, or something worse, is what I cannot divine. I believe if Mr. Wall was to attempt it, he would find the difficulty not easily surmounted. In the mean time I think it is plain enough, that even the articles of that very church our author defends, condemn and disallow his method, which nevertheless he thinks is the only one whereby he can hope to defend pædobaptism.

But all this is only arguing *ad hominem ab absurdo*. Suffer me now to offer some few observations, which naturally arise from the silence of the sacred Scriptures, and may serve to make out yet more fully, that this is so far from being a fit groundwork for Mr. Wall to build upon, that it is as good an argument against him as can reasonably be desired.

All Christians pay so high a veneration to the Scripture, that where they have the liberty to express their thoughts, they appeal to it as the only guide in all points of religion. All parties are so convinced of the sufficiency and authority of it, that they are concerned to found their opinions, though ever so mistaken, upon it, and never think them safe till some texts or other are brought to speak in their favour. Our experience may satisfy us, whatever reasonings and arguments are employed to support any thing, we are apt to raise scruples and doubts, if we do not see it confirmed by holy writ.



And in the nature of the thing it must be so : for the Scriptures being the records of revealed religion, nothing can be our duty but what they enjoin ; and consequently, we are to take no notice of what is not expressed in them.

All laws in general are understood to bind only in relation to the particulars severally specified in them. This is self-evident, and it is too absurd to be made so much as a supposition, that they are obligatory in cases they have no relation to, and which they do not so much as mention. An act which makes it treason to contrive the death of a king, does not at the same time make it equally capital to contrive the death of the meanest subject, but on the contrary, rather supposes the latter not to be equally capital. Had it mentioned beggars too, or been put in such general expressions as comprehended them, or all men, then the case would have been the same : but one case being mentioned and not the other, makes one criminal, and the other not ; one being against an express law, which has no relation to the other.

All commissions, and warrants, &c., do as it were appropriate the duties or privileges they impose or grant, only to those persons and circumstances severally therein mentioned ; and at the same time tacitly imply they are not to be construed as obliging any other persons, or even the same in other circumstances than those expressed. For when any powers specify some particulars, they are understood to relate to those only, and to exclude all others. All grants and gifts, whether by the crown or any other authority, are made to this or the other particular person or family ; and the bare

mentioning of them is a sufficient cutting off all other pretences whatever. The commissioning judges to try such and such causes, is not only not authorizing them to judge other causes, but a tacit forbidding them to do it : for though the commission gives a power to judge and determine, it is understood to be with this restriction, viz. only the things mentioned ; so far it gives power to go ; but it does not give, which is the same as to withhold or refuse, the power to go further. And accordingly it is accounted criminal, and a high contempt of the superior authority, to exceed the bounds of a commission, barely in doing what it does not mention. From all this I think it is more than sufficiently plain, that the silence of a lawgiver, &c., in any case, is understood to be a prohibition against the said things he is silent in ; especially if some other particulars be expressed, and that omitted, for then it looks as if it were designed, and has therefore something more negative in it.

It is a sure maxim of Tertullian, *negat scriptura quod non notat*<sup>o</sup>. A maxim so fatal to the causes which depend on tradition, that Le Prieure could not safely pass it by, without boldly accusing this ancient writer of heterodoxy.

To apply this to our present dispute : since the Scripture, in all the places where it speaks of baptism, is confessed to speak only of adult persons, and never once to mention infants ; one would think it should be an unavoidable consequence, that therefore the adult only which are mentioned, and not

<sup>o</sup> De Monogam. pag. 527. [of the edition by Priorius or Le Prieure, fol. Par. 1664.]

infants which are not, should be looked upon as fit subjects of baptism. If adult-baptism only be mentioned in Scripture, then infant-baptism to be sure cannot be grounded upon that sacred law: and to draw a home inference, it must be unlawful to baptize infants under pretence of Divine authority, and as by commission from Christ, since it appears to be contrary to, or at least different from, his intention, which was, that adult persons should be baptized: and, as appears from the frequent mention of adult, and the total silence about infants, that this sacred ordinance should not be profaned, by admitting such unfit subjects to it.

This negative conclusion must be as strong here as in all other such like cases. So the patent by which his Grace was created duke of Marlborough, and the settlements made for the suitable support of the said dignity, are an honourable acknowledgment of his invincible courage and wise conduct, and of his unshaken loyalty and faithfulness, and indefatigable industry in the service of his Queen and country, and the whole protestant interest. The bare mentioning his Grace, together with his heirs, without mentioning any other, appropriates this honour to his Grace's family only, and to his heir after him, who alone, of all the children, would be entitled to the honour, notwithstanding the rest are not expressly mentioned, and denied it: and the reason which excludes the rest, is only because they are not mentioned in the patent: and so exactly on the same account infants are not to be baptized, viz. because they are not mentioned in those clauses of our Scripture-patent which relate to the high privilege of baptism. Again, every man of but

common sense will allow, that all obligations bind only those persons who are mentioned, and upon those conditions only which are expressed. If I am bound in a bond of ten thousand pounds for my friend's fidelity in any post, I shall not be accountable on any other pretence, as of his unfitness for the place, or the like; nor is any other person answerable for his frauds, &c., no other condition being mentioned in the bond beside his fidelity, nor no other man made a joint security with me.

Just for the same reason, to a tittle, we think baptism should not be administered to infants: for it is beyond dispute, that the only persons mentioned in the *baptismal clauses* of Scripture are the adult; and the only condition, faith and repentance. By all which, infants seem to have been as designedly excluded this sacrament, as could well be. And though the inference in this particular case will be pinching, and therefore ungrateful enough to our author, he will nevertheless readily allow, in some cases which agree with his system, that negative arguments are not always invalid.

On some occasions which might be pointed at, I know he would subscribe Dr. Whitby's general rule, that 'in matters of doctrine the argument is always good: we read of no such doctrine in the Scriptures, therefore it neither is nor can be any article of faith, because we have no other rule of faith besides the holy Scriptures<sup>p</sup>.' The doctor's reason makes the observation appear certainly true, and therefore gives the cause of pædobaptism a more deadly wound.

And indeed, it is mainly on this foundation the

<sup>p</sup> Annot. in Matth. vi. 9. page 58. a.

ecclesiastical hierarchy is at present built: for the appointing officers in the church to administer the sacraments, for instance, our author himself, and almost all Christians will allow, is a tacit prohibition that no other person presume to do it. In like manner the mentioning the adult in the commission to baptize, and not infants also, is as strong a prohibition not to baptize the latter.

When we were last together, you may remember, sir, you took occasion to intimate, that probably Mr. Wall would not stick to reject this way of arguing, if any should urge it upon him. But I observe, when he writ his history, he had so good an opinion of it, as to use it himself. For when he has made the supposition, that the Jews did baptize their proselytes, together with their children; and that our Lord transferred that practice from them into the Christian church; he adds, to clinch the nail he has been driving, and infer infants must now in like manner be baptized, ‘If our Saviour meant that the apostles should make any alteration in that matter, and not baptize the infants, as had been usually done, it is a wonder he did not say so.’ Placing the stress of the matter in this, that the Scripture is wholly silent as to our Lord’s giving a direction to make any alteration in this point.

He speaks much after the same manner, and in the same case too, when he allows, that notwithstanding what he had said, baptism ‘ought to be regulated by the practice of John, and of Christ himself,—rather than by any preceding custom of the Jewish nation: if we had any good ground to believe that they did, in the case of infants, differ,

'or alter any thing from the usual way: but we have no kind of proof that they made any such alteration'. Here again he argues from the Scriptures' silence, and therefore my inference will stand good against him, that indeed infants might be baptized if we had any good ground to believe that Christ and his apostles baptized any: but we have no kind of proof that they baptized any; and if our Saviour meant that the apostles should have done it, it is a wonder he did not say so.

But certainly, as we had no power to baptize at all without his command, so neither have we power to baptize any but *such* as he commanded; and those you have already seen, sir, Mr. Wall himself allows to be the adult only, as far as the Scriptures can go to inform us of the matter.

Against all this there is a miserable cavil, very common in the mouths of pædobaptists, which one would think men of the most ordinary capacities could not persuade themselves to use: viz. they observe, that Christ has nowhere forbid them to baptize infants, and therefore they infer they ought not to neglect it. This is so very trifling, that I do not know whether you will excuse me for taking notice of it. However, it is of such weight with some people, and our author himself has recourse to it so frequently, that it is necessary just to touch on it.

The proposition is this: 'Christ has nowhere forbid us to baptize our children.' But, first, all that will follow from thence at best, is only that it is in itself, simply considered, lawful to sprinkle or dip children, when and how we please; but it can

<sup>r</sup> Introd. p. 18. [27.]

in no wise be inferred that we *ought* to do so: no, nor that it is lawful to do it as a religious ceremony, or a thing appointed by Christ: nor will it at all follow, that this may be boldly substituted in the place of what our Lord did ordain. Christ has not indeed forbid us to bathe ourselves every day, and therefore it is certainly lawful to do it: but if we do it as a part of divine worship, and impose it on others as such, we become inexcusably guilty of superstition, and the worst kind of tyranny.

Mr. Wall himself has noted, out of Epiphanius, that it is one of Marcion's errors to teach that such religious purification by baptism may lawfully be repeated. Many human inventions may doubtless be very lawfully practised as such, because they are not either directly or indirectly prohibited in Scripture; but if they are imposed as divine institutions, the reason ceases, and they are no longer lawful: for though they may not be particularly mentioned, yet Christ does expressly enough condemn them in that general censure of the Scribes and Pharisees, for *teaching as doctrines the commandments of men*. And whatever may be ranked under *the commandments of men*, and belong to that denomination, cannot plead the Scriptures' silence in their favour, but are here most directly and expressly condemned.

So that though we should allow it lawful, merely in compliance with the customs of a country, to sprinkle children for their health, suppose, or on account of any other civil ceremony, because as such it is nowhere forbidden; I see no inconvenience in it. But then this reason will not hold if they should urge it, as the pædobaptists do, as an ordinance of

Christ; for the Scripture is not silent in this case, but on the contrary, explicitly against such presumptions, as ascribing inventions to the Divine will.

Tertullian, on another occasion, well exposes the weakness of this way of arguing. Some in his time pleaded for the lawfulness of wearing a military crown, which the Romans gave their soldiers who had distinguished themselves by some extraordinary action, and thought they might continue to wear it after their conversion to Christianity; and if any found fault, they presently recurred to our author's subterfuge, that the Scriptures nowhere forbid them to do so. 'It is an easy matter', says Tertullian, 'to demand where it is written we may not wear the crown? But then too, where is it written we may? For those who require their adversaries to produce Scripture authority, conclude by it that their own cause should be supported by the same. If it is lawful therefore to wear the crown, because the Scripture nowhere forbids it; it may with equal force be retorted, that it is therefore not lawful because the Scripture does nowhere command it. What then must be done in this case? Must both be allowed, because neither is forbidden? Or must both be rejected, because neither is commanded? You will say, perhaps, what is not prohibited is therefore allowed: no, it is forbidden by not being expressly allowed<sup>s</sup>.'

<sup>s</sup> Lib. de Corona, cap. 2. pag. 101. Et facile est statim exigere, ubi scriptum sit, ne coronemur? At enim ubi scriptum est, ut coronemur? Expostulantes enim Scripturæ Patrocinium in parte diversa, præjudicant suæ quoque Parti Scripturæ Patrocinium adesse debere. Nam si ideo dicetur coronari licere quia non prohibeat Scriptura, æque retorquebitur, ideo coronari non



If Tertullian's reasoning here should not hold as to things in their own nature indifferent; he must however be blind indeed that does not see how strongly it holds in all religious matters, which it may be pretended we ought, or ought not to do. In short, all that can be made of their argument is, that as they have nothing for their practice in the Scriptures, so there is nothing against it; as much as to say, We have no reason to oppose the practice, and they have no reason to plead for it. But whether we have reason to oppose them, let all men judge; if they have no reason to urge for their practice, their cause is bad enough; for, as Mr. Locke somewhere says, 'he that believes without having any reason for believing, may be in love with his own fancies; but neither seeks truth as he ought, nor pays the obedience due to his Maker.'

It would be thought extravagant in any man to pretend, such a clod in a certain field is the selfsame piece of earth which about six thousand years ago was Adam's body, because the Scripture does not say the contrary. As wild as this appears to be, it is however as just as the pædobaptist's plea; and must be allowed so, for it is grounded on the same reason, viz. that the Scripture nowhere says the contrary.

2. In the next place, you may please to observe, that though in some cases the Scripture's silence may leave the thing indifferent, to the freedom or opinion of every man; yet it is far from being so always.

licere, quia Scriptura non jubeat. Quid faciet disciplina? Utrumque recipiet, quasi neutrum prohibitum sit? An utrumque rejiciet, quasi neutrum præceptum sit? Sed quod non prohibetur, ultro permissum est. Immo prohibetur quod non ultro est permissum.'

Things in their own nature indifferent may be left so well enough; but it is not an indifferent matter whether we obey God and Christ or not, and perform divine service according to his will and appointment. And therefore the Scripture's silence cannot be pleaded here with any reason at all. They do not forbid us, in so many words expressly, to give the sacramental supper to a Turk; but who will therefore infer, he may? Why does not our author baptize persons after they are dead, to wash them from all sins committed in their lifetime; since the Scripture does not expressly forbid him to baptize such; nor any where declare persons so baptized shall not be perfectly cleansed and forgiven?

Again; where does the Scripture tell us in terms the Roman is not the only true catholic church? that oral tradition may not entirely be depended on? that the doctrine of sacramental justification is a mischievous error? as the learned bishop of Salisbury nevertheless justly calls it; and argues, as I have hitherto done, in direct contradiction to our author's way, that 'since this is nowhere mentioned in all the large discourses that are in the New Testament concerning justification, we have just reason to reject it<sup>2</sup>.' Pilgrimages, and all kinds of penance, &c., stand upon the same bottom. But to give an instance something nearer to the matter in hand; we are nowhere forbid to baptize our cattle, bells, tables, &c., but yet our author I hope, would never infer that they *may*, much less that they *ought* to be baptized; for to administer the sacraments to visibly unfit subjects, is no better than an impious profanation of them.

<sup>2</sup> Exposition of Article xi. p. 125.

Now from all this, instead of a great deal more which might easily be added, it clearly appears, if our author argues well, and the Scripture's silence be a sufficient reason for a thing, that he ought in honour and conscience to return to Rome; that is the least he can do. Nay, all the silly trumpery of Rome, the ancient as well as the modern, may be brought into play again by this one single topic; which manifestly opens a door to all the inventions of every fanciful brain, which has but the luck to hit on such odd notions as the Scriptures do not expressly contradict.

I suppose, sir, you may have seen, when you were at Padua, the sermon which good St. Anthony is said to have preached to a congregation of fishes, in one of his flaming fits of devotion; and since the Scripture nowhere forbids to preach to fishes, to trees, to wild beasts, &c., but commands to *preach the Gospel to every creature*, which seems to have the like colour with that which the pædobaptists urge for their tenet, why should we laugh at St. Anthony's zeal? For, according to our author's rule, he was much in the right, and our author himself ought to follow his example.

I intended to have dismissed this matter in fewer words, but it is insensibly grown under my pen. However, of the two extremes, I had rather allow myself to be too *long*, than too *obscure*. I am,

Sir,

Yours, &c.

## LETTER VII.

THAT the Scripture does not leave infant-baptism so undetermined as some would pretend, is largely shewn from Matt. xxviii. 19—All laws equally oblige in all particulars mentioned in them—This applied to our present dispute—The commission necessarily obliges to teach all it intends should be baptized—Therefore infants cannot be included in that commission—The commission also requires that all of whom it speaks should be first taught, and afterwards baptized—The ridiculous objection of such as say, infants also are to be taught, answered—Some would evade the force, by confessing this commission relates peculiarly to the adult: which is directly giving up the argument—What the pædobaptists urge from the words *all nations*, answered—It is not said *all of all nations*—Illustrated by a parallel instance from Matt. iii. 5, 6—Mr. Dorrington censured—It is proved, the commission most directly excludes infants—What the pædobaptists urge concerning the Greek word *μαθητεύσατε*, answered—Dr. Hammond censured for so grossly contradicting himself in this point—Men of the greatest learning disown the criticism of the pædobaptists—A passage from the bishop of Sarum; another from Dr. Whitby—*Μαθητεύειν*, is constantly used to signify nothing less than to teach, &c.—The sense of the word proved from its etymology—The primitive, and all its derivatives include teaching, &c.—No room for an anti-phrasis, which is now exploded by the best grammarians—The pretence from the termination, that words in *-εύω* are to be interpreted by *sum* in Latin, is groundless—Plutarch uses the word to signify *to teach*—Another instance from St. Ignatius: another from the same: another from the same—One from St. Clemens Alexandrinus; one from St. Justin Martyr—The meaning of *εἰς τὸ δινομα*—Another instance from St. Justin—The word *μαθητεύειν*, even in its supposed neuter acception, notwithstanding the contrary pretences, always includes *teaching*—Matt. xxvii. 57, considered—Instances wherein the word signifies *to teach*, &c., even when constructed with a dative case; from Plutarch; from Origen; from St. Irenæus, expounded by a passage of Socrates; and from Clemens Alex.

andrinus—The true sense of the word further illustrated by synonymous words—Instances of *παιδεύω*, from Plutarch; from Ælian; from Plato—Instances of *ἀκούω*, from Pindar; from Diogenes Laërtius; from Plutarch—An instance of *διακούω*, from Plutarch—A very remarkable instance of the sense of *μαθητεύειν*, from Clemens Alexandrinus—Another from the same—One from Origen—Besides, if what our adversaries advance were right, it can be of no advantage to them, because the word in the commission is allowed to be transitive—Discipleship necessarily includes teaching—*Μαθητεύω* means *to teach successfully*; and therefore is indeed consequentially to make disciples.

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I HOPE, sir, I may venture to say, that what was urged in my last amounts to little less than a demonstration, that it is the worst logic in the world to argue, as the pædobaptists do, from the supposed silence of the Scriptures; which I have shewn plainly enough is not only no argument for infant-baptism, but on the contrary, concludes as strongly against it, as any reasonable man can desire an argument should do. And this is the first of those considerations, which I pretend do utterly ruin our author's design, even though he should prove (as we shall hereafter see he does not) that the Jews did use to baptize their proselytes together with their children, and that the Christians soon after the apostolic times did so too; for you will allow me, that arguments from Scripture are of far more force than both these.

But in the next place I add another consideration, of much greater weight still; namely, that the Scripture does not leave this matter so undetermined as the pædobaptists would fain persuade themselves, but that it directly disallows of infant-

baptism, and admits of no other but that of adult persons. I once intended to have made out this, in an exact and particular examination of all those passages of Scripture which have or might have been pleaded on either side : but I find I am like to be tedious enough without it; and therefore I shall think it is sufficient to do it from Matt. xxviii. 19, which is indeed the main ground and foundation of the ordinance, and the sole authority and rule, even for the holy apostles themselves, in this matter. If I am pretty large on this, you will excuse me, because it is instead of all the rest.

To proceed then with plain and clear evidence. I desire you to consider, that if any law or commission, &c., does enjoin, and particularly mention two or more things to be done; the said law, &c., does equally oblige to the performance of each of those things, and render one as necessary and indispensable as the other, unless there be some particular exception to the contrary. Thus the judges, for instance, are empowered and obliged to try and to give judgment in such and such causes: if they only hear them, they do not discharge their duty, but are equally obliged to determine and give sentence according to law. For the authority which obliges to one, is equal in its obligation with respect to the other.

This notion was the ground of that dissatisfaction in the time of king Charles I. concerning the business of Rochelle<sup>a</sup>; for all people thought those

<sup>a</sup> [Rochelle, the strong-hold of the French protestants, after a protracted and arduous siege, was taken by Lewis XIII. in 1637. So much interest was excited in this country in favour of the besieged, that besides other demonstrations noticed by

forces had been sent to the assistance of the town, and therefore that they were equally obliged, both to go thither, and to assist the besieged: but when the matter unluckily miscarried, they began to think the commanders were excused from assisting the distressed by contrary private instructions. And what mightily confirms the supposition is, that, as Leti remarks<sup>b</sup>, ‘they might with very little danger ‘have relieved the place;’ and without such instructions, they would, as they were required, have acted with more vigour and prudence.

But, however the truth be, this serves to illustrate my general rule, which I suppose will not be disputed: and then this particular branch of it must be also allowed me, viz. that since the commission to baptize mentions teaching as well as baptizing, without making any distinction, or saying any thing of one, which is not said of the other; therefore this commission does equally oblige both to teach and to baptize. And upon this principle I will shew you, that the commission under consideration cannot comprehend infants. In order to which I observe, 1. That the words do necessarily oblige to teach all whom they intend should be baptized. And, 2. That this teaching must always as necessarily precede their being baptized. Both which articles do very plainly exclude infants, because they are not capable of being taught at all.

1. As to the first thing, that the institution does

the historians of the period, one of the pamphlets of the day recommends itself to notice as being ‘printed in the year and ‘month wherein Rochelle was lost!’]

<sup>b</sup> Ceremonial. part iv. lib. 5. p. 411. Che potevano con poco Raschio soccorer la Piazza.

indispensably enjoin, that all who are to be baptized must likewise be taught; this is evident, if you observe, that the command, in both its parts, is equally and universally applied to all those subjects which are mentioned therein, and are denoted by that comprehensive phrase, *all nations*. For there is no manner of distinction or difference made between some and others of this aggregate. This will more certainly appear, if we resolve the proposition logically. The only subjects spoken of are *all nations*: the things said of these subjects are, that they must be taught, and that they must be baptized. Now both these being said of the same subjects, we may form the words into these two propositions, for they are virtually two, viz. *teach all nations*, and *baptize all nations*. The steps I take are easy and sure, according to the method in use among mathematicians, than which nothing can be more plain and conclusive; and therefore I may well enough call it a demonstration, that the very same persons, whoever they be, who are meant in the commission by *all nations*, and commanded to be baptized, are all equally commanded to be taught likewise. And so far are the words from intimating any thing to the contrary, and from distinguishing between some who are to be taught, and others who are not; that they are rather so ordered, as to render it scarce possible for any man even but to surmise that those two words *teach* and *baptize* do not both of them relate exactly to all the same persons, and to whatever is meant in the commission by *all nations*.

Let us take it for granted now, that those to whom the commission is given, are bound to *teach*



*all nations*, as well as to baptize *all nations*; and this will be the consequence of it, that infants cannot be included in this commission. For, if it requires the subjects spoken of should be taught as well as baptized, then they must be all capable of teaching as well as of baptism: for the Scriptures, doubtless, are not so unreasonable as to command us to do that to any subject, which it is not capable of receiving. This would not consist with the highest justice and goodness and wisdom, with which we believe all our Lord's institutions are given.

How then can the pædobaptists persuade themselves to fancy, contrary to the express words of the Scripture, that some only are to be taught, whilst others may be as well baptized without any instruction at all?

They tell us, the word here translated *teach* has another very different, and more proper sense; but how weak this pretence is, I shall discover by and by. In the mean time this objection tacitly allows that both words do relate precisely to the same subjects; which is no less than yielding up the dispute: and I desire no greater advantage; for I hope to prove in the sequel, beyond all contradiction, that the Greek word does necessarily and properly signify *to teach* or *instruct*, and never means *to make disciples*, but in that manner. I will take it for granted then here; and at present only reply against their teaching of some, and not others, that there is no ground for it in the words, the institution being universal in both its parts, *teaching* and *baptizing*: and as there is no exception nor difference of persons made, so we must allow of none;

such a fancy being as strongly guarded against as can possibly be, by expressing the subjects of baptism but once; to make it necessary that both the words should relate only to the same individuals exactly.

All this makes it plain that infants cannot be comprehended, but are rather designedly excluded: for if infants might be baptized, then some might be baptized, who neither do, nor are obliged to believe in Christ, and whom we are not, nor cannot be bound to persuade and teach: which is directly contrary to the express words of the institution; for that, as is above demonstrated, commands to teach all whom it commands to baptize; and therefore either both are commanded to be done to infants, or neither. This short conclusion necessarily arises from the commission, that if it does not speak of and enjoin teaching infants, it does not enjoin baptizing them: for if the term *all nations* comprehends infants, then they must be taught too, which is absurd; and if it cannot comprehend infants, then they must not be baptized: one of these things is unavoidable. The inference I draw is, that they are not to be baptized; because I suppose no man will imagine the Scriptures require us to preach the gospel to infants, unless he is arrived to the good St. Anthony's exalted pitch of religious phrensy, and can think we should preach to fishes, wild beasts, trees, &c.

2. But in the second place I am to shew that the commission requires all who are therein commanded to be baptized, should be first taught and instructed in the principles of the Christian religion. If this can be made out, the pædobaptists are effectually cut off from all their pretences and evasions

of any kind ; for then undoubtedly, not infants, but the adult only, are to be baptized.

I have often enough repeated it already, and it is so plain that I think nobody can deny it, that what this commission says of any one person, it says equally of all ; because it speaks only in general, of all, without difference or exception. From whence it follows, that the same things are to be done to all, and that too in the same order. Since then it leaves no room in the least for any distinctions, but speaks indifferently and universally of all, what it enjoins on one it equally enjoins on all ; and there remains only one of these two extremes to be chosen ; either that teaching must always, or that it must never, precede baptism.

The pædobaptists are equally averse from both these : but they must necessarily choose one ; and either allow, that they ought always to teach persons before they baptize them ; or else, that they may always, in all cases, baptize before they teach them. I know, they had rather say, that some are to be taught first, and others are to be baptized first. But that cannot be admitted, because the Scripture allows no ground for any such distinction, but speaks in the same manner of all in general : and if it makes it necessary, that teaching or baptism should be first administered to some, it makes it as necessary it should be so to all.

Which then of the two remaining extremes is to be adhered to, it will not be very difficult to determine. Nobody dares say, that none are to be taught before they are baptized : this would shock every rational inquirer, it is so gross and palpable an error, as might be shewn from the nature of the thing, and the order observed in the commission, &c. And

Christ certainly intended to be understood that his ministers should teach the Jews and heathens, and all adult persons, before they were baptized; which can only be implied in the order of the words, where teaching is first mentioned. And accordingly St. Hierome, as he is cited and translated by Mr. Wall himself, says on these very words, 'They first teach all the nations; then when they are taught, they baptize them with water: for it cannot be that the body should receive the sacrament of baptism, unless the soul have before received the true faith.' The same sense is put upon the commission by others of the more ancient Fathers, as I shall have occasion to shew hereafter. But our author adds, 'St. Hierome here commenting on the commission given by our Saviour to the apostles, of carrying the Gospel to the nations that were heathens, explains the method they were to use; viz. first, to teach those nations the Christian religion, and then to baptize them; which all pædobaptists grant to be the method that ought ever to be used.'

I need not insist then any longer on this, our antagonists readily allowing, that at least the adult, and all such as are capable of being taught, cannot be regularly baptized without it. And therefore, too, in the Catechism of the Church of England, we are told, that of persons to be baptized are required, 'repentance, whereby they forsake sin; and faith, whereby they steadfastly believe the promises of God,' &c., making these the necessary conditions of regularly administering baptism: that is, as they mean, to the adult.

We see therefore, that the pædobaptists themselves will not pretend they must *never* teach any before they baptize them ; but on the contrary, make it necessary, at least in some cases, to teach first : but if it must be so in some cases, then, as I have before demonstrated, it must be so in all.

Having reduced the matter to this dilemma, and withal it being necessarily and freely allowed me, that the last part cannot be true ; it evidently follows that we are obliged to baptize only such as have been first taught, and do, according to the tenor of the Scriptures, profess a true faith and repentance.

Though the foregoing reasoning is not long, it may be useful perhaps to contract it here, and give the whole force of it in a shorter compass, that the evidence and certainty of its parts may be more easily discerned.

Either all must be taught before baptism, or none, or some only. But there is no ground to say some only, because the commission makes no distinction between what is to be done to some, and not to others. Neither can it be said that none are to be taught first ; for this shuts out even the adult, which is against the opinion of our antagonists. It can only remain then, as a necessary conclusion, that all in general are to be taught before they can be admitted to baptism. And, by another consequence as strong as the former, infants cannot be of that number, and must not be baptized before they are taught.

To evade the force of all this, it has been answered, and I must needs say ridiculously enough, that infants are to be taught likewise, viz. when

they come to age, and are capable of it; so that though the commission does require all who are baptized to be taught also, yet that does not exclude infants.

But, in the first place, I have just now shewn, that all must be taught *before* they can be regularly baptized; and this unavoidably excludes infants.

2. Supposing the commission could allow of this comment, then it may run thus: '*Go teach all nations*, even infants too when they are grown up,' &c., i. e. when they cease to be infants. This shift can be of no service to them: for if the term *all nations* only means adult persons, and infants when grown up, the question will be at an end, and we are agreed. It is a pretty odd distinction indeed; but they shall have it, if they please; and we will allow that infants when they are grown up (that is, to speak in our own way, and as we think more properly, when they are come out of that ignorant state, and are no longer infants, but adult persons) may be baptized. And if this will reconcile us, let both parties, instead of disturbing each other, unite henceforward in a common opposition of those enemies to the sacraments of our most holy religion, who dare wholly cashier and reject the ordinance.

Some again, with as little judgment and consideration, endeavouring to avoid the force of what I say, do in reality give me all I plead for. They frankly confess this commission relates peculiarly to the adult; and therefore think it is no wonder it is expressed so as to be applicable to them only. This is insinuated more than once by Mr. Wall himself, which I admire at. Did not he see it is all the same

<sup>d</sup> Part ii. page 378, 379. [513, 514, 520.]

paedobaptists desired? that instead of invalidating what they urge, it was granting them their argument? For we presently return, that if this commission relates to adult persons, as they confess, then it authorizes to baptize only such : from whence it is easy and natural to infer, that no other baptism is to be allowed of. If this commission does not enjoin infant-baptism, we challenge them to shew us any other that does ; and it is with the highest reason we assert there is no commission or authority for it in Scripture.

But these are trifles. A more material objection is still behind ; namely, that the term in the commission being *all nations*, infants, as being a part of the nations, must equally be included with the rest : and are therefore to be accounted as proper subjects of baptism as persons of a more advanced age. At first sight this seems to carry something plausible in it : but a little thought will presently discover how superficial it is.

For, in the largest extent of the phrase, as taken to signify every individual of each species of unbelievers, and profane blasphemers, both among the Jews and heathens, are comprehended too, as likewise are all atheists and the vilest degenerate men to these, all superstitious, ignorant, foolish, together with mere carnal and saving machines, &c., for these are all parts of the *nations* as truly as infants. But none of our universities will at home might therefore be so any of them, as excluded.

Besides, you may take notice, that our Lord does not say the whole nation, or even nation, of every nation, or all of all nations, which would have made the case very different from what it is, viz.

only indefinitely, *all nations*. Scarce a youngster, who has begun his logic, but is acquainted with the distinction between *genera singulorum*, and *singula generum*: and there is visibly a wide difference between *all nations*, as the holy penman expresses it, and *all of all nations*, as our antagonists would fain understand it. And, in short, the plain meaning of our Lord can be only this, that as before they had preached only to the Jews, now they should preach the same Gospel to all other nations, and baptize them; that is, such of them as were capable of baptism, and would receive it.

Thus, for example, in a parallel instance of the same nature, St. John is said to have baptized *all Judæa, and all the region round about Jordan*<sup>e</sup>: and yet we find in the following verses, that he rebuked the Pharisees and Sadducees, and gave them to know, that such as brought not forth *fruits meet for repentance* could not be admitted. Besides, (which reaches exactly the case in hand,) I observe it is added, ver. 6, that they confessed their sins: which makes it plain that infants were not baptized by him, for they could make no such confession; and yet of all he there baptized in general, it is said, namely of *Jerusalem, and all Judæa, &c.*, that *they were baptized of him in Jordan confessing their sins*. Which by the way is, I think, a pretty plain demonstration, that St. John, our Lord's forerunner, did not admit infants to his baptism.

Now from all this it is evident, both that *all Judæa, &c.*, in this place, and *all nations*, in the commission, can only mean such as were capable and willing to receive the faith, and did resolve to

<sup>e</sup> Matt. iii. 5, 6.



*endeavour to walk worthy of the vocation wherewith they were called.* It is wholly upon the comprehensiveness of this phrase that our adversaries ground all their hopes to find infant-baptism instituted in this commission. This our author confesses, when he says, that ‘it affords this argument ‘for pædobaptism; infants are part of the nations, ‘and so to be baptized by this commission<sup>f</sup>.’ But I have utterly taken away this pretence, and proved there is no real ground from the commission to think infants ought to be baptized. And the best argument for it is so very precarious, that I cannot but wonder at Mr. Dorrington’s<sup>g</sup> preposterous attempt to make use of this text, to prove from it, that infants as well as others ought to be baptized.

But that author affects wonders; and his whole book is one, in which he undertakes to prove infant-baptism from Scripture; which is as much as to say, the Scripture positively asserts what it does not speak one word of. Mr. Wall has acted more modestly, and very ingenuously owns, all that can be found in the Scriptures is too obscure to build upon, and so wisely declines the combat with that weapon. And if the rector of Wittresham had better considered the matter, it is likely he would have laid by his design, rather than have exposed himself so much by the publication of this book.

<sup>f</sup> Part ii. p. 378. [514.]

[<sup>g</sup> See ‘A Vindication of the Christian Church, in the baptizing of Infants, drawn from the Holy Scriptures. By Theophilus Dorrington, Rector of Wittresham in Kent.’ 8vo. London, 1701.—The portion of this work which called forth these censures from Mr. Gale, is chapter third of part the second, page 126\*, &c. ‘Wherein is explained and improved, to the justifying the baptizing of infants, the text in Matthew xxviii. 19.’]

What is said above concludes at least thus much, that there is nothing in the commission which can be tolerably urged to prove that infants are included in it. But this is not all: I have likewise been arguing, that the commission necessarily and directly excludes infants; and this I am chiefly concerned here to make good. What we urge to this purpose, is principally from the word *teach*; for, as Mr. Wall propounds our argument, 'Infants are 'such a part of the nations as are not capable of 'being taught, and so not to be baptized<sup>h</sup>;' because the commission does as much command to teach, as to baptize all nations; and if there be any difference, rather more strongly; for it is to be noted, that the subject *all nations* is immediately joined with *teach*, so that there cannot possibly be any evasion. This must needs be a powerful argument to all men that duly consider it, and it highly concerns all pædobaptists to get clear of it as well as they can.

But the word *teach* which makes the difficulty, after a great deal of hammering, they<sup>i</sup> at length conclude, does not truly express the sense of the original; and therefore they fall foul on the translation, and tell us, the true sense in which it ought to be rendered is, *disciple* or *proselyte*, instead of *teach* all nations. Now, say they, though infants are not capable of being taught, yet they may be

<sup>h</sup> Part ii. p. 378. [514.]

[<sup>i</sup> Mr. Gale here uses the plural *they*: in explanation of which term it may be well to mention, that Mr. Dorrington, the publication of whose treatise on baptism preceded Dr. Wall's, gives the same interpretation of the Greek word μαθητεύω, namely, not simply to *teach*, but to *make disciples*: see his work, part 2. chap. iii. sect. 3. p. 132\*, &c.]

proselyted. But I think this criticism has nothing in it.

If indeed the Greek word does signify barely *to disciple*, by baptizing suppose, or any other way, without including *to teach*, all our argument from this place unavoidably falls to the ground. And that it does signify so, is very frequently asserted by the divines of the church of England, and among the rest, by Dr. Hammond<sup>k</sup>, from whom our author takes it, as he has done most of his best thoughts.

I name Dr. Hammond in particular, because there is something in his conduct upon this point, which deserves especial notice ; for though he is certainly a considerable man, yet his opinion will weigh but very little on one side or the other in this case, because he grossly contradicts himself, and by turns equally countenances and rejects both. When he is bent upon destroying all that may be thought to prejudice the cause of infant-baptism, then he says the word does not signify *to teach*<sup>l</sup>, but to receive into discipleship, by baptism as the ceremony, without supposing any preceding instruction : and yet notwithstanding he is so positive here, in his Paraphrase and Annotation he strenuously asserts the direct contrary, and thus paraphrases the words, ‘teach all nations the Christian doctrine, and persuade them to embrace it, and to live according to it.’ And in the note he has more to the same purpose. In his Dissertations on Episcopacy he runs the words thus : ‘Call to discipleship, or instruct all nations in the faith and discipline ; certify all of the resurrection of Christ, and by preaching the Gospel in all parts, gather disci-

<sup>k</sup> Six Queries, p. 196.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid.

‘ples; and those you have so gathered, baptize and teach<sup>m</sup>.’

So plainly does this learned man contradict himself: upon which this remark is obvious; that when the doctor's mind was not immediately under the power of prejudices, (which were as strong in him sometimes as in other men,) and when he had no interest to serve, he could see and acknowledge the truth, which the dust his prejudices raised, hindered him from seeing at other times.

But farther, this answer is utterly false; and is accordingly disowned by men of the greatest learning, as Cameron<sup>n</sup>, Grotius<sup>o</sup>, Rigaltius<sup>p</sup>, with others whom I shall mention hereafter. Add to these the right reverend and learned bishop of Sarum, who in his judicious Exposition of the Articles, says thus: ‘By the first teaching or making of disciples, that must go before baptism, is to be meant the convincing the world, that Jesus is the Christ, the true Messias, anointed of God with a fulness of grace, and of the Spirit without measure, and sent to be the Saviour and Redeemer of the world. And when any were brought to acknowledge this, then they were to baptize them, to initiate them to this religion, &c., and then they led them into the water, and with no other garments but what might cover nature, they at first laid them down in the water, as a man is laid in a grave, and then they said these words, *I baptize, or wash thee in*

<sup>m</sup> Dissert. 3. cap. iv. §. 1. Ad discipulatum vocare, vel disciplina et fide imbuere gentes omnes, resurrectionem Christi omnibus testatam facite, et evangelio per omnes oras enunciatum discipulos congregare, congregatos βαπτίζοντες et διδάσκοντες.

<sup>n</sup> In loc.

<sup>o</sup> In loc.

<sup>p</sup> In Cyprian. Epist. 64.

'the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost :  
'then they raised them up again, and clean garments were put on them <sup>p</sup>,' &c. In this account of the method the apostles and first Christians pursued, his lordship has given almost as exact a description of our practice to this day, as if he had designed to express it.

Dr. Whitby likewise, somewhat more largely, with his usual modesty and candour, corrects this mistake. 'Μαθητεύειν,' says he, 'here is to *preach the Gospel to all nations*, and to engage them to believe it, in order to their profession of that faith by baptism <sup>q</sup>.'—This he goes on to confirm, and then adds, 'I desire any one to tell me, how the apostles could μαθητεύειν, make a disciple of an heathen or unbelieving Jew, without being μαθηταί, or *teachers* of them; whether they were not sent to preach to those that could hear, and to teach them to whom they preached, that Jesus was the Christ, and only baptize them when they did believe this? This is so absolutely necessary, in the nature of the thing, until a Christian church among the heathens or the Jews was founded, and so expressly said by Justin Martyr <sup>r</sup> to have been the practice in the first ages of the church, that to deny what is confirmed by such evidence of reason and church-history, would be to prejudice a cause, which in my poor judgment needs not this interpretation of the word

<sup>p</sup> Page 300. [on the 27th Article.]

<sup>q</sup> In loc.

<sup>r</sup> Apol. ii. p. 93. E. Ὅσοι ἂν πεισθῶσι καὶ πιστεύουσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιοῦν οὕτως δύνασθαι ὑπισχνώμεται, εὐχεσθαι τε καὶ αἰτεῖν, &c. ἔπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐνθα ὕδωρ ἐστὶ, καὶ τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀναγεννήθημεν, ἀναγεννώμενται. [Apol. i. sect. 61. p. 71. in edit. Benedictin.]

‘*μαθητεύειν*; nor needs it to be asserted, that infants ‘are made disciples, any more than that they are ‘made believers by baptism’, &c.

I do not see how it is possible to make any reply to this, and therefore I might be excused from adding any thing more: but because the stress of our argument from the commission lies chiefly in this word, and our adversaries generally make it their main resource, I will the more studiously proceed to shew, beyond question; 1. From the sense of the Greek word; 2. From the authority of several versions; 3. From the opinions of the Fathers; and lastly, From the Scriptures themselves, and the practice of the apostles; that *μαθητεύσατε* does always, and particularly in the place under consideration, signify *to teach* or *instruct*, and to make disciples only by so doing.

1. I begin first with shewing, that *μαθητεύειν* is constantly used to signify nothing less than *to teach* and *instruct*. This seems to me so incontestably evident on all accounts, that I am really not a little amazed to find it contradicted by men so considerable for learning and good sense.

If we do but try all the methods which are used in finding out the true sense of a word, we can never fail of perceiving how certainly this is the sense of the word before us. And if any one can make the

\* [Mr. Gale does not complete the sentence, which goes on thus; ‘but only that they are and ought to be admitted into the ‘Christian church and kingdom of God, and into the new covenant by baptism, if they be children of believing parents.’ Dr. Whitby likewise immediately subjoins a dissertation on the foregoing note, to remove an impression that his words might possibly be construed into a disapproval of infant-baptism.]

experiment, and after examination deny it signifies *to teach*; he may as well, if he pleases, open his eyes, and turning to the sun when it shines out, deny there is any sun at all, or affirm it is midnight.

As to the origination of the word, if any thing may be inferred from thence; (and surely it must rather bear some agreement in signification with its primitive, than contradict it; it having always been thought one good way to know the sense of a word, to inquire into its etymology;) its origination, I say, leaves not the least room for our antagonists to surmise as they do, but concludes against them as strongly as any thing of this nature can do, and makes it necessary to understand it to signify *to teach, instruct, or the like*.

No man doubts but *μανθάνειν*, the theme, signifies properly *discere, docere, to learn, to teach or instruct*; and it may be observed, that all words derived from it do ever retain some marks of this signification; thus *μάθημα*, a document, instruction, or that which is taught or learned; *μαθητὸς*, teachable, or apt to learn; *μαθητιᾶω*, I desire to learn. And so in its compounds, *ἀμαθής*, unlearned; *ἀρτιμαθής*, one that lately began to learn; *αὐτομαθής*, one that learned of himself, without the help of a master; *ὀλιγομαθής*, one that learned but little; and *πολυμαθής*, one that has learned much. *Ἀναμανθάνω*, I learn again. *Καταμανθάνω*, I learn thoroughly, or exactly. *Συμμανθάνειν*, to learn together; from whence *συμμαθητής*, a school-fellow, or fellow-learner. And so in like manner of all the rest.

Since then the primitive signifies *to learn*, &c. and all its derivatives and compounds retain the like sense; why must only *μαθητής* and *μαθητεύω* be

excepted? And where is their ingenuity, who so irregularly, and contrary to the analogy of the Greek tongue, arbitrarily pretend that these words have no relation to teaching, &c., only because this fancy serves their purpose something better? whereas an impartial judge would, from this observation alone, conclude μαθητεῖν must needs signify *to teach*, or *to be taught*, or *to cause to be taught*, or some such thing, which should include teaching.

I suppose nobody will any more recur to the antiquated invention which some grammarians have long been proud of; I mean the antiphrasis, which is now exploded by the best and most learned philologists, as a mere cover for the ignorance of those who use it. I need not refer you to the Spanish Minerva; for to be sure you remember well enough the sixteenth chapter of the fourth book, where Sanctius solidly exposes the mistake those grammarians committed, who when they knew no better, imagined words were sometimes used in a contrary sense to the primitive from whence they were derived. *Lucus* in Latin is a common instance in every body's mouth; but the more accurate and judicious now no longer say it is derived 'a lucendo, 'quia minime luceat;' but rather, because of the great and almost continual illuminations in the groves, occasioned by sacrifices, &c., as say Vossius<sup>t</sup> and Perizonius<sup>u</sup>, to name no more. And if this antiphrasis be, as Vossius expresses it, but 'a silly 'whim of the grammarians<sup>x</sup>,' who are oftentimes

<sup>t</sup> Partit. Orator. p. 339.

<sup>u</sup> In Sanctii Minerva, p. 931.

<sup>x</sup> Etymolog. ad vocem *Lucus*. Inane grammaticorum commentum, &c.



none of the ablest critics, then μαθητὴς, and μαθητεύω, as they are derived from μανθάνειν, *to learn*, &c., must likewise bear some congruity in their signification, and not be applicable to such as are not capable of learning or being taught.

But some argue from the termination, and pretend, that verbs in -εύω are to be interpreted by *sum* in Latin; and so μαθητὴς signifying a disciple only, μαθητεύω might be rendered *sum discipulus*. It is easy to see how trifling this is; and that were it true, it could be of no use to our adversaries; for μαθητὴς we assert means such a disciple only as is *taught*; and then μαθητεύειν will signify, according to their own way, to be such disciples. But besides, the criticism is utterly false, as might be made appear from innumerable examples: thus κελεύω signifies *jubeo, to command*, as well as κέλω, from whence it is formed; and so βουλεύω, *to counsel*, &c., from βούλω. The like may be observed of ρεύω, from whence ρέω forms some of its tenses, so perfectly synonymous are the two words; as are also σέω, σῶ, and σεύω; χέω and χεύω; πλέω, πλεύω; πνέω, πνεύω; and this may be seen too in βασιλεύω, ἀγορεύω, ἡγεμονεύω, φονεύω, θεραπεύω, ἀληθεύω, στρατεύω, χορεύω, θρησκειύω, ἐποπτεύω, προφητεύω, μαντεύω, and παιδεύω, an instance in the very case, beside multitudes which I pass by, none of which can admit of the sense pretended.

Upon all this, I think, I may safely conclude, according to the analogy of derivations in the Greek tongue, as well as in all other languages, that as *disciple* in English is made of the Latin *discipulus*, which comes from *discere, to learn*; and as διδάσκαλος, a *tutor, teacher, master*, from διδάσκειν, *to teach*, because such a master διδάσκει, does teach; but κύριος,

a master, or governor, from *kûpos*, full *power* and *authority*, because masters and governors are supposed *kûpos* ἔχειν, *to have* such *power*: so μαθητὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔμαθον comes from *μανθάνειν*, *to learn* or *teach*, because μαθηταί, or *disciples*, *learn* or *are taught*: and hence μαθητεύω is the proper word to signify the action of teaching, whereby persons are to be made such disciples, or if you please of *discipling* or *making disciples by teaching*. But let this suffice concerning the origination of the word, and the assistance it yields to find out the true sense of it.

What I am going to add in the next place, will perhaps be thought less liable to exception, than arguing upon etymologies, which with some men is but trifling: I will therefore prove what I have affirmed, by the use of the word in Greek authors, which must be allowed to carry weight in it.

Of all the passages wherein I have observed it to occur, I do not know, nor believe there is one, but does necessarily include and signify *teaching*, or at least may admit it: and nothing any where gives reasonable ground so much as to surmise the contrary; so far is it from being as our adversaries pretend: and if they should be able to produce one instance where, by some strange chance, or a violent catachresis, it does signify *to disciple*, and exclude teaching, which I am persuaded they will never be able to do, that will be far short of a sufficient reason to say the word signifies so elsewhere; much less that it is the proper signification in which it is always or commonly used: and yet our adversaries, some of them at least, are very fond of the thought, and would fain persuade *us* to believe it too.

But the evidence on our side, that the Greek

word includes teaching, &c. is plain from these following instances.

Plutarch, in the account he gives of the life of Isocrates, says, that when he taught rhetoric at Athens, Hyperides, Isæus, and Demosthenes came to him, and made him this offer; that since they could not give him a thousand drachms, his usual fee, they would not expect to be taught the whole art, but would pay him two hundred drachms for a fifth part of it only. By the way observe, their sole aim was *to learn* or *be taught*. To their proposal Isocrates returns this answer: ‘We do not use, ‘Demosthenes, to divide our art; but as good fish ‘are sold entire, so if you have a mind to learn, or ‘*to be taught* (*μαθητεύειν*) I will instruct you in the ‘whole art.’ This instance can need no improvement; for you have nothing to do but to read the passage, in order to see that all they apply to Isocrates for, was his instruction; and that therefore in his answer he speaks of nothing else.

And that this is the sense of the word in the language of the primitive church, methinks should be exceeding plain to all who are not utter strangers to those useful pieces of antiquity which still remain; for they furnish us with instances in abundance, and very clear to the purpose. Thus the holy martyr St. Ignatius, giving some instructions to the Ephesians, ‘with his usual profound humility and meekness, adds, ‘Not that I take upon me to direct ‘you, as if I were any body: for though I am bound

γ Vit. decem Rhetor. p. 1539. Τὸν δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι ὡς οὐ τεμαχίζομεν, ὃ Δημόσθενες, τὴν πραγματείαν· ὥσπερ δὲ τοὺς καλοὺς ἰχθύς ἄλους πωλοῦμεν, οὕτω κἀγὼ σοι, εἰ βούλοιο μαθητεύειν, ὁλόκληρον ἀποδώσομαι τὴν τέχνην.

' for his name, I am not yet perfect in Christ Jesus; ' nay, I am as it were but now beginning (*μαθητεύεσθαι*) to learn, or to be instructed; and I speak to ' you as fellow-disciples with me<sup>z</sup>, ' &c. If there could have been otherwise any doubt what the word might signify here, *συνδιδασκαλίταις* immediately following in the last sentence, would have made it certain; for to say he speaks to them as fellow-learners, because he did but then begin *μαθητεύεσθαι*, must render it yet more necessary to understand the word there, to mean *to learn*, or be *taught* or *instructed*, &c.

Besides, he uses the same word again exactly thus a little after, where he directs the Ephesian Christians how to behave themselves even towards unbelievers and strangers to the faith; and advises them to pray for all men: for, says he, ' there is ' some hope they may repent, and obtain the mercy ' of God: let them be instructed (*μαθητευθῆναι*) by ' your good works. When they are angry, be you ' kind and forgiving<sup>a</sup>, ' &c. And again, in that admirable Epistle to the Romans, so worthy of a Christian bishop, wherein he expresses an ardent and impatient desire to suffer martyrdom for Christ;

<sup>z</sup> Epist. ad Ephes. cap. 3. Οὐ διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν, ὡς ὧν τι· εἰ γὰρ καὶ δίδεμαι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι [αὐτοῦ], οὕτω ἀπήρτισμαι ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ· νῦν γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἔχω τοῦ μαθητεύεσθαι, καὶ προσλαλῶ ὑμῖν ὡς συνδιδασκαλίταις μου, &c. [The word *συνδιδασκαλίταις* does not occur in either of Cotelerius' editions, 1698 or 1724, from which Mr. Gale professes to quote: but instead we read *ὁμοδούλοις*, *fellow-servants*.]

<sup>a</sup> Epist. ad Ephes. cap. 10. Καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε· ἔστι γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἑλπίς μετανοίας, ἵνα Θεοῦ —ἐπιστρέψατε οὖν αὐτοὺς [καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ὑμῖν] μαθητευθῆναι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὑμεῖς πρᾶεῖς, &c.

among other things he most earnestly entreats them not to deprive him, through their mistimed kindnesses, of that glorious crown, by using their interest to prevent the death he was then going to suffer by wild beasts in the amphitheatre at Rome. More, says the illustrious Saint, you cannot do for me, than to suffer me to be sacrificed to God. And a little after: ‘Ye have never envied [me in] any thing; ye have taught others; I would therefore that those things also should be confirmed by your practice, which you have prescribed in teaching (μαθητεύοντες): only pray for me that I may be so strengthened within and without, as not only to be called a Christian, but also to be found one<sup>b</sup>.’

These instances, without adding any more, might very well suffice to shew that μαθητεύειν signifies *to teach*, &c. But to convince you that this is not only a casual, but the constant sense of the word, I must take the liberty to add several instances more.

Clemens Alexandrinus discoursing of the use of philosophy in theological studies, against such as would have the Greek learning altogether useless; after he has said a great deal to that purpose, he observes that even the philosophy they were such enemies to, borrowed many things from the Scriptures; and adds, that ‘the things so borrowed in part are true, and are grounded sometimes upon

<sup>b</sup> Epist. ad Romanos, cap. 3. Οὐδέποτε ἐβασκάνετε [ἐν] οὐδενί· ἄλλους ἐδιδάξατε· ἐγὼ δὲ θέλω, ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖνα βέβαια ᾖ, ἃ μαθητεύοντες ἐντέλλεσθε· μόνον δύναμιν αἰτεῖσθί μοι ἔσωθεν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγω, ἀλλὰ καὶ θέλω, &c.

[Cotelierius has not the words enclosed within brackets, and instead of *πρὸς* reads *ταπεινόφρονες*. The clauses also are irregularly and incorrectly mixed up here.]

'bare conjectures, and sometimes on necessary reasons. If they do learn, (*μαθητευθέντες*,)' that is, borrow, 'something from the Hebrew philosophy, let them acknowledge it<sup>c</sup>.'

Again, shewing how philosophy tends to bring men to the knowledge of the true religion, by engaging all impartial inquirers 'to converse not only 'with the Greeks, but with the barbarians too,' (as the Jews and Christians were then called,) 'and by 'these common ways of improving their knowledge 'they are brought to the faith; and then having 'laid the foundation of the truth, they are better 'enabled to go on in the search after it. And hence 'it is that being taught (*μαθητευσάμενοι*) or instructed 'in the faith, they approve of it; and by pursuing 'after knowledge, they vigorously pursue salvation<sup>d</sup>.' It is plainly impossible in these instances to put any other sense on the word in dispute than what I contend for.

Another passage of this author I cannot omit, it being if possible more plain and cogent than the former: 'Those men,' says he, 'that are transformed 'into angels, are first instructed (*μαθητεύονται*) by 'them a thousand years, and so raised to perfection: 'and then the teachers were translated to arch-angels; and the learners in their stead instructed

<sup>c</sup> Stromat. lib. i. p. 320. 'Εκ μέρους τοίνυν ἃ κεκλήφασιν, ἀληθῆ μὲν στοχαστικῶς δὲ καὶ ταῖς τῶν λόγων ἀνάγκαις ἴσασι. μαθητευθέντες οὖν καταληπτικῶς ἐπιγινώσκονται.

<sup>d</sup> Stromat. lib. vi. p. 691. Ἐπειτα οὐχ Ἑλλησι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρους ὁμιλήσαντες, ἐπὶ τὴν πίστιν ἐκ συνασκήσεως κοινῆς εἰς σύνεσιν ἰδίαν ἄγονται· παραδεξάμενοι δὲ τὸν θεμέλιον τῆς ἀληθείας δύναμιν προσλαμβάνουσι προίεναι ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτησιν· κἀνθένδε ἀγαπῶσι μὲν μαθητευσάμενοι, γνώσεως δὲ ὀριγνώμενοι σπεύδουσιν εἰς σωτηρίαν.

‘ (μαθητεύουσιν) or taught those who were to be changed ‘ from men to angels \*.’ Here μαθητεύειν is most apparently interpreted by St. Clement himself to mean διδάσκειν as it relates to the angels, and μαθηθάνειν as it relates to the persons that were taught ; which renders the instance perfectly unexceptionable.

To the same effect Justin Martyr too uses this word in his Apology to the Roman senate : ‘ If we ‘ were to kill one another, we should be the causes, ‘ as far as in us lay, that no more persons should be ‘ brought into the world, and taught (μαθητευθῆναι) or ‘ instructed in the Christian religion, and of putting ‘ an end to human kind †.’ And again, in his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, he tells him, that as God, for the sake of those seventy thousand who had not bowed the knee to Baal, forbore to pour out his anger upon the whole body ; ‘ So now in like manner,’ says St. Justin, ‘ God has not, or does not ‘ pour down his judgments, as knowing that some ‘ every day are taught to believe (μαθητευομένους) in ‘ the name of his Christ, and do forsake their ‘ erroneous ways §.’

It is a difficulty to translate the word here by any

\* Clem. Alexandr. Eclog. p. 809. a. Οἱ γὰρ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων εἰς ἀγγέλους μεταστάντες χίλια ἔτη μαθητεύονται ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων, εἰς τελειότητα ἀποκαθιστάμενοι. εἴτα, οἱ μὲν διδάξαντες μετατίθενται εἰς ἀρχαγγελικὴν ἰξουσίαν· οἱ μαθόντες δὲ, τοὺς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αὖθις μεθισταμένους εἰς ἀγγέλους μαθητεύουσιν.

† Apolog. 1. aut melius 2. p. 43. Εἰ οὖν πάντες ἑαυτοὺς φονεύσομεν, τοῦ καὶ (lege μὴ) γεννηθῆναι τινὰ, καὶ μαθητευθῆναι εἰς τὰ θεῖα διδάγματα, ἢ καὶ μὴ εἶναι τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος, ὅσον ἐφ’ ἡμῖν, αἵτιοι ἐσόμεθα.

§ P. 258. Τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, καὶ νῦν οὐδέπω τὴν κρίσιν ἐπήνεγκεν ἢ ἐπάγει, γνώσκων ἔτι καθ’ ἡμέραν τίνες μαθητευομένους εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπολείποντας τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πλάνης.

one in English, which will sufficiently express the sense of the original. This passage may be thought therefore to make rather against me than for me, especially if it should be asserted that the phrase *μαθητεύειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ* here, is the same in sense with *βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. For to this purpose our antagonists talk, when they pretend *μαθητεύειν* in the commission is explained by the following words, and means by *baptizing* them, &c. But I know, sir, you are not liable to be imposed on by such fancies: for *to proselyte* to Christ, or *to disciple* to Christ, though it be not the meaning of the word, may indeed be good sense enough; but 'to proselyte into the name of Christ,' is a phrase I believe never used: besides, no man will ever be able to find an instance where *μαθητεύειν* is put for, and signifies *βαπτίζειν*.

But if the word be here used in the sense our antagonists assert, it should be rendered *discipled in the name of Christ*: and this, though a very odd, obscure sort of phrase, may be admitted, if it be understood to include *teaching*, and means *to disciple only by that*; which will not be allowed: and yet *to disciple* in the name of Christ, without *teaching*, is nonsense, and can have no meaning at all; for *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*, in the name, intends *into the belief*, as Dr. Whitby paraphrases Matth. xxviii. 19, and the most learned interpreters generally agree. And to be baptized in the name of Christ, is explained Rom. vi. 3. by being *baptized into Christ*, and *into his death*; and Gal. iii. 27. by *putting on Christ*: all which must needs imply a profession of faith in Christ, and his death, into which they were baptized, as all the ancients understood it. Upon wh



account, baptism was called in the Greek church σφραγὶς τῆς πίστεως; and in the Latin church *sigillum fidei*, 'the seal of faith.'

The substance of all this Mr. Wall himself likewise allows, when he insinuates that some among us who baptize only in the name of the Lord Jesus are probably Socinians; and 'it is not for the use 'of those,' says he, 'that have a mind to obliterate 'the belief of the Trinity, to baptize their proselytes into the faith and name of it <sup>h</sup>.' From which words it seems plain enough, that Mr. Wall by εἰς τὸ ὄνομα understands *into the faith*; now, to initiate or disciple into or to the faith of Christ, such as at the same time either do not or cannot know any thing of Christ, is an absurdity of the first rank.

It follows then, that the true sense of the word is no other than what I have given it: and if you will still have it rendered *discipled* to the name of Christ, that can however only mean in better English, *instructed in*, and *brought over to* the faith of Christ; which is the sense I contend for. Besides, it may be further observed, that St. Justin is here speaking particularly of adult persons, who of Jews became Christians; which must be by believing in Christ, and 'forsaking their errors,' as he expresses it. And of the same persons again, a little after, he says, 'They received the gifts of the Spirit as every one was 'worthy, being enlightened by the name of Christ.'

If φωτισζόμενος is here pretended to mean *baptized*, as Mr. Wall says it sometimes signified in the more distant centuries of the church, but I think not so early as St. Justin's time; it will be thereby yet plainer, that μαθητεύειν a little before could not

<sup>h</sup> Part ii. p. 222. [333.]

intend the same, but something else, viz. *to instruct*, upon which this baptism followed; the passage would otherwise be a gross tautology.

But if that word only denotes the enlightening of the mind, which seems most likely; it will still argue, that μαθητεύειν which precedes it, must signify to instruct, because the mind cannot be enlightened but by instruction. And if we only observe, that the persons spoken of are, as I said, adult, such as, it is granted on all hands, cannot become Christians without faith in Christ, which must come by hearing; this consideration alone is enough to determine, that the sense of the word in this place is as I have rendered it; because it is applied to such as undoubtedly were actually instructed, and prevailed on to believe, and could not be initiated, *discipled*, or what you will please to call it, without such instruction. This I suppose is now sufficiently plain, and therefore I proceed to another instance from the same Father.

A few lines after, he tells his antagonist, that the Jews honour God and his Christ with their lips only; 'but we,' says he, 'having been instructed' (μεμαθητευμένοι) or taught in all truth, honour them 'in our actions and knowledge, and in our whole 'minds, even unto death'. Μεμαθητευμένοι is so strictly connected to ἀληθείας in this passage, that translate it into English by what word you please, it must of necessity imply *learning, teaching*, or the like; for no one can be *discipled*, &c. *to or by the truth* any other way.

<sup>1</sup> Dialog. cum Tryphon. p. 258. Ἡμεῖς δέ, καὶ ἐν ἔργοις, καὶ γνώσει, καὶ καρδίᾳ, μέχρι θανάτου οἱ ἐκ πάσης τῆς ἀληθείας μεμαθητευμένοι, τιμῶμεν.

But I need not repeat instances of this kind ; for the more learned and judicious will allow, that when the word is used 'transitively,' as the grammarians speak, it does always signify as I contend : but when it is used in a neuter or intransitive sense, as it is often believed to be, they think it does not signify *to teach*, &c. I do not indeed remember that Mr. Wall any where makes this distinction ; though I know some of the pædobaptists do : but he chooses to assert, with a dogmatical air, as if it was one of the plainest things in the world, that the word 'signifies much like what we say in English *to enter any one's name*, as a scholar, disciple, or proselyte<sup>k</sup>,' &c., and this he never goes about to prove, or give the least reason for, but only shews how that interpretation of the word makes for his purpose ; as if that was reason enough, and all men were obliged to submit to his determination.

But it will appear that he is altogether mistaken in this criticism, by shewing, that even this artful distinction of some men which was just now mentioned, can be of no use ; because the word, even in this neuter signification, does always mean and include *teaching*.

At present I remember but one passage which is cited on this occasion by those of the contrary opinion, and that is Matt. xxvii. 57, where it is said of Joseph of Arimathæa, ἐμαθήτευσε, or as Beza's copy at Cambridge reads it, ἐμαθητεύθη τῷ Ἰησοῦ, which our translation renders, *was Jesus' disciple*. This is supposed to be a plain instance that the word signifies simply *to be a disciple* ; and therefore Constantine<sup>l</sup> cites only this place to confirm the neuter

<sup>k</sup> Part ii. p. 378. [514.]

<sup>l</sup> In Lexic. ad voc.

signification he puts upon the word, in opposition to *teach*; the transitive sense he had before mentioned.

To this I answer: it is plainly a mistake to suppose the word is ever used as a neuter, or intransitively. Its being frequently construed with a dative case perhaps might occasion the mistake; for I observe Stephens<sup>m</sup>, Busby<sup>n</sup>, &c., note, that when it is joined with a dative, it signifies *to be a disciple*; but of all the instances of this construction I do not know one which will sufficiently confirm this supposition.

As for that produced by Constantine, from Matt. xxvii. 57, it is very short of the point; for why may not it as well be rendered, *had been instructed, taught, &c., by Christ?* or, *was brought over to Jesus*, as well as, *was Jesus' disciple?* For this will express the sense of the place, as well at least as the vulgar translation; and with this advantage too, that the words I use are much more agreeable to the origination and primary sense of the Greek word, which ought to be considered. Besides, it is plain, that Joseph, who was a Jew, could not become a disciple of Christ but by being taught and convinced that he was the true Messiah who was to come: and the very import and design of the words is manifestly to signify, that Joseph did believe in Jesus; and therefore I cannot see any reason to suppose the word has a new sense here, when that which it is so generally used in is so proper.

To make it yet clearer what the word means in this construction, I will present you with several

<sup>m</sup> Thesaur. Græc. ad voc.

<sup>n</sup> Gram. Græc. p.162.

other instances, which I believe will oblige you to understand it in my sense.

Plutarch, in the life of Antiphon the orator, says, ‘he was taught (*μαθητεύσας*) by his father, who professed oratory °,’ &c. It is observable, that Plutarch has himself explained the force of the word here, by these words which immediately follow: ‘and having learned the art of pleading, he gave himself to the public.’ And in the life of Isocrates, he tells us, ‘Theopompus of Scio, Ephorus of Cuma, Asclepiades the writer of tragedies, and Theodectes of Phaselis, were all educated (*ἐμαθήτευσε*) or taught ‘or instructed by, or brought up under him P.’

Again, he says of Æschines, that ‘according to some, he had never been taught (*μαθητεῦσαι*) by any master, but by writing in the courts became acquainted with the forms and manner of proceeding <sup>q</sup>.’

In these and all other such like passages, the word is manifestly used to signify *to be educated or instructed by* such and such masters: or as Plutarch expresses the same thing in another place, speaking of Æschines, ‘he learned to read of his father <sup>r</sup>.’ So that if *σὺν* is omitted in the other places, by an

° Vit. decem Rhetor. [cap. i.] p. 1530. *Μαθητεύσας δὲ τῷ Πατρὶ (ἦν γὰρ σοφιστὴς, &c.,) καὶ δύναμιν λόγων κτησάμενος, &c., ἄρμησε μὲν πολιτεύεσθαι.*

P Ibid. p. 1539. [cap. iv.] *Ἐμαθήτευσε δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ Θεόπομπος ὁ Χίος, καὶ Ἐφωρος ὁ Κυμαῖος, καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ τὰ τραγωδούμενα συγγράψας, καὶ Θεοδέκτης ὁ Φασιλίτης, &c.*

q Ibid. p. 1545. [cap. vi.] *Οἱ δὲ εἶπον μηδὲ μαθητεῦσαι τιτὸν τὸν Αἰσχίνην, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς ὑπογραμματείας ἀρθῆναι, ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις τότε διαύοντα.*

r Vit. decem Rhetor. p. 1544. [cap. vi.] *Καὶ ἔτι παῖς ὢν ἐδίδασκε γράμματα σὺν τῷ πατρί.*

ellipsis, (as it is very usual,) the full construction will be just the same with this. Or if this preposition should not be inserted, Origen, who was not only a great philosopher and divine, but a great master of language too, plainly shews us, that these forms are certainly elliptical, and that the dative case is not governed by the verb, but a preposition, sometimes expressed, but commonly indeed to be understood.

The passage from whence I gather this, is a good instance against Stephens, Constantine, &c., that the Greek word in dispute, even in this construction, has no other sense than that which I give it. Origen's words are these, in answer to a question put by himself, namely, when the Jews, who believed in Christ, learned of the Father; because the Lord had said, John vi. 45, *Every man therefore that hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, cometh unto me*: Origen answers as a third person, but yet agreeably enough to what was known to be his own opinion, 'The words must not be understood as 'though any one had seen the Father, for only he 'who is with the Father has seen him; but to import, that the souls of some, before they came into 'the body and were born into the world, (*μεμαθητευμένοι παρὰ τῷ Πατρὶ,*) were taught by the Father, 'and heard him', &c., in that state of their pre-existence.

Here Origen uses *μαθητεύειν* for the same thing which in the text is expressed by *μανθάνειν*; which puts it out of all doubt that the sense is as I have translated it: and it cannot be obscure, because he is speaking of such as were prepared before their birth, by hearing the Father. Ferrarius therefore,

<sup>r</sup> Comment. in Johan. p. 293.

without any difficulty, renders it ‘edoctæ apud ‘Patrem,’ exactly in the sense I maintain.

Therefore by Origen’s supplying the construction by *παρὰ*, it appears that the phrase would have been defective without it, and that it must have been understood; or else *ὑπὸ*, which Irenæus has used to express the same sense. For example, speaking of St. Polycarp, he says, ‘he was not only instructed (μαθητευθεὶς ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων) by the apostles, and ‘acquainted with many of those who had seen the ‘Lord; but was also constituted by the apostles ‘bishop of the church of Smyrna in Asia<sup>s</sup>.’ Though *ὑπὸ* be here joined with the genitive, it does not alter the phrase; for it is used promiscuously with a genitive or dative, without any difference in the sense; just as Origen in the place above cited, and in the following words, shews us *παρὰ* is likewise. Thus Socrates Scholasticus, speaking of Eunomius—the heretic, has this remarkable passage; ‘that being ‘Ætius’ secretary, he was taught or led by him into ‘(ὑπ’ αὐτῷ παιδευθεὶς) the heresy<sup>t</sup>,’ which he afterwards gave name to. This passage is the more observable, because it serves to shew how *μαθητευθεὶς* is to be understood in St. Irenæus: for it is plain the sense in both places is the same; and therefore *παιδευθεὶς*, which every body knows signifies *instructed, taught*, or the like, strongly confirms my interpretation of *μαθητευθεὶς* in the other place. And besides, it is there

<sup>s</sup> Apud Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 14. Πολύκαρπος δὲ οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων μαθητευθεὶς, καὶ συναναστραφεὶς πολλοῖς τοῖς τὸν Χριστὸν ἑωρακόσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος.

<sup>t</sup> Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 35. fin. Εὐνόμιος ταχυγράφος ὢν ἐκεῖ-  
νου, καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτῷ παιδευθεὶς τὴν αἵρετικὴν λείξω.

capable of no other sense; and the *Glossarium Latino-Græcum* annexed to Dr. Grabe's edition of St. Irenæus renders the word by *edoctus*, *taught*, *instructed*, &c. C. Nepos expresses this sense by *eruditus*, when speaking of Alcibiades, he says, 'he was taught by Socrates<sup>u</sup>:' and so in other places.

We have another instance much of the same nature with that of Socrates, in Clemens Alexandrinus, which is parallel to what was cited from Origen, and may therefore serve to expound it. 'For we are taught of God, who are taught of the Son of God wisdom which is truly divine<sup>x</sup>.' What Origen expressed by *μαθητευόμενοι παρὰ τῷ Πατρὶ*, St. Clement here expresses by *παιδευόμενοι παρὰ τῷ Υἱῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, for both speak of being taught of God.

And since I have begun, I will farther illustrate the sense of the word under consideration, by more examples of other words, which are synonymous to it, and used exactly to express the same thing.

Plutarch, speaking of Lysias, says, 'he was taught' (*παιδευόμενος*) or studied under Tisias and Nicias of 'Syracuse<sup>y</sup>.' Here he uses *παιδεύω* directly in the same sense, as in the instances above cited you may see he, at other times, uses *μαθητεύω*. So Ælian says of Persæus, *Ἀντίγονον ἐπαίδευσε*, 'he taught Antigonus.' And again, a little after, 'Lysis, a disciple of Pythagoras, instructed Epaminondas<sup>z</sup>.'

<sup>u</sup> Vit. Alcibiad. p. 74.

<sup>x</sup> Stromat. lib. i. p. 318. Θεοδιδάκτοι γὰρ ἡμεῖς, ἱερὰ δυνάμει γράμματα παρὰ τῷ Υἱῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ παιδευόμενοι.

<sup>y</sup> De Vit. decem Rhetor. p. 1536. [cap. 3.] Παιδευόμενος παρὰ Τισίᾳ καὶ Νικίᾳ τοῖς Συρακουσίοις.

<sup>z</sup> Ælian. Var. Histor. lib. iii. cap. 17. Λύσις δὲ ὁ γνῶριμος τοῦ Πυθαγόρου, καὶ αὐτὸς Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἐξεπαίδευσε.



Plato, in one of his dialogues, makes Socrates say, Carry your sons with you ; for in hopes of gaining them, they will be the more easily persuaded to teach us<sup>a</sup>.

In all these places παιδεύειν is used just as μαθητεύειν is in others, which I have mentioned before. From whence it is but reasonable to infer, that both these words, in these and such like cases, signify one and the same thing, namely, *to instruct*, or *teach*, or the like.

Another synonymous word, by which the sense of μαθητεύω may be illustrated, is ἀκούω, which is frequently enough used for *to learn* in the New Testament, as well as among profane writers. Pindar has a passage very pertinent to this effect, though the word is metaphorically applied in it: ‘For Salamis can produce as brave soldiers,’ says the poet, ‘as any in the world ; Hector learned (ἄκουσεν) the truth of this from Ajax before the walls of Troy<sup>b</sup>.’ The ancient scholiast interprets ἄκουσεν by μανθάνειν in this place : and it is very plain the metaphor is taken from the schools, where pupils hear and are taught by tutors appointed to that purpose. And this word is often used to express this sense.

Diogenes Laertius says of Anaximenes, that ‘he was educated or taught by (ἤκουσεν) Anaximander :

<sup>a</sup> Euthydem. p. 190, D. Ἴσως δὲ δέλεαρ ἄξομεν αὐτοῖς τοὺς σοὺς νείεις ἐφείμενοι γὰρ ἐκείνων οἷδ’ ὅτι καὶ ἡμᾶς παιδεύσουσιν.

<sup>b</sup> . . . . . Καὶ μὲν

Ἄ Σαλαμὶς γε θρέψαι

Φῶτα μαχατᾶν

Δυνατὸς. Ἐν Τροίᾳ μὲν Ἐκτῶρ

Ἀλκιμῶς ἄκουσεν.

Pindar. Nem. ii. 18.

'others say, he studied under (*ἀκούσαι*) Parmenides<sup>e</sup>. Of Socrates, in his Life, he says, that 'when according to some (*ἀκούσας*) he had been instructed by, or studied under Anaxagoras, and also by Damon, as Alexander in his Treatise of Successions affirms; after his condemnation, he heard (*διήκουσεν*) or studied under Archelaus the naturalist<sup>d</sup>. And again, of Xenocrates he says, that 'he heard, (*ἤκουσεν*,) that is, studied under Plato 'almost from his infancy<sup>e</sup>. And so in many other places.

Plutarch, commending the natural propensity to virtue, of Dion the Syracusian Brutus, says, that notwithstanding he had lived in the corrupt court of Dionysius the famous tyrant, upon hearing Plato talk, though very young, he was so enamoured with philosophy, that 'he resolved to find opportunities 'to see that great philosopher, and be instructed ' (*ἀκούσαι*) or taught by him<sup>f</sup>. And again, when comparing Pelopidas and Epaminondas together, 'They seem both,' says he, 'to have been equally 'made for all kind of virtues, except that Pelopidas 'delighted most to exercise his body, and Epaminondas by learning to exercise his mind: they 'spent therefore all their leisure hours, one in hunting, wrestling, and the like, and the other in learn-

<sup>e</sup> In ejus vit. lib. ii. 'Αναξιμένης Εὐρυστράτου Μιλήσιος ἤκουσεν Ἀναξιμάνδρου. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ Παρμενίδου φασὶν ἀκοῦσαι αὐτόν.

<sup>d</sup> Lib. ii. 'Ακούσας δὲ Ἀναξαγόρου, κατὰ τινες ἀλλὰ καὶ Δάμωνα, ὡς Ἀλεξάνδρος ἐν διαδοχαῖς, μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου καταδίκην διήκουσεν Ἀρχελαίου τοῦ φυσικοῦ.

<sup>e</sup> Vit. Xenocrat. Οὗτος ἐκ νέου Πλάτωνος ἤκουσεν.

<sup>f</sup> In Vit. Dion. p. 1756. Ἐσπούδασε, καὶ ἐπράξατο ποιησάμενος σχολήν, αὐτὸν ἐντυχεῖν Πλάτωνι καὶ ἀκοῦσαι.

‘ing, (ἀκούων,) or being instructed in something, and  
‘in philosophical disputations<sup>ε</sup>.’

Thus too he uses the compound διακούω, when he remarks out of Stesimbrotus the historian, ‘that  
‘Themistocles was instructed (διακούσαι) or taught  
‘by Anaxagoras<sup>h</sup>.’ Thus in the Life of Cicero, he says, ‘when he came to Athens, he heard,’ that is, ‘was instructed by or studied under (διήκουσε)  
‘Antiochus of Scalona, with whose voluble eloquence he was extremely pleased, but did not  
‘approve of the new opinions he had started<sup>i</sup>.’ Now in all these cases it is plain the words are used exactly in the same sense as μαθητεύω, which they therefore interpret in the places before cited, and are a very home argument that μαθητεύω in all such places necessarily implies hearing and learning in one party, and teaching in another.

Notwithstanding this is sufficiently demonstrated in what I have already said, I cannot forbear adding one more illustrious instance, which I remember I have read in Clemens Alexandrinus, where he is shewing that the Jewish philosophy is much the oldest of any other, and that the Grecian was borrowed from it: he cites a passage out of Democritus, where he boasts of his learning and of his travels; which he intimates, gave him the advan-

ε In Pelopid. p. 509. Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν πεφυκότες ὁμοίως, πλὴν ὅτι τῷ γυμνάζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἔχαιρε Πελοπίδας, τῷ δὲ μανθάνειν, Ἑπαμεινώνδας· καὶ τὰς διατριβὰς ἐν τῷ σχολάζειν, ὁ μὲν, περὶ παλαιστρας καὶ κνηγίσια, ὁ δὲ, ἀκούων τι καὶ φιλοσοφῶν, ἐποιεῖτο.

h Vit. Themistocl. p. 204. Καίτοι Στησίμβροτος Ἀναξαγόρου τε διακούσαι τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα φησί.

i Vit. Ciceron. p. 1580. Ἀφικόμενος δ' εἰς Ἀθήνας Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἀσκαλωνίτου διήκουσε, τῇ μὲν εὐροία τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ καὶ χάριτι κηλούμενος, ἃ δ' ἐν τοῖς δόγμασι ἐνεωτέρειζεν οὐκ ἐπαινῶν.

tage of informing himself of many things from wise men in all parts of the world, and from the Ægyptians in particular, with whom he says he had conversed eighty years. After this citation Clement adds, 'He travelled into Babylon, Persia, and Ægypt, learning (μαθητεύων,) of the magi and priests. Pythagoras assures us, that Zoroaster was one of the Persian magi: and those who are of the sect of Prodicus boast they have some hidden mystical books of that great man. Alexander, in his Treatise of Pythagorean Symbols, says, Pythagoras was taught (μαθητεύσαι) or instructed by Nazaratius the Assyrian, and that besides these, he heard (ἀκηκοέναι) or learned of the Druids and Brachmans<sup>k</sup>.'

In this passage, the word in dispute, μαθητεύς, is twice used only to signify *to learn*, just in the same sense as ἀκούω is, immediately after in the last sentence, in which likewise the words τε πρὸς τοῖτοις are to be observed, for they connect the sense of the last clause with that of the foregoing: for to say, *besides these he heard, or was taught*, by such or such also, necessarily imports that he had been said before to *have heard, or been taught* by others. And you may remember that Clement is there professedly shewing from whence the Greeks had *learned* their philosophy; for this makes it more

<sup>k</sup> Stromat. lib. i. p. 304. Ἐπῆλθε γὰρ Βαβυλωνία τε καὶ Περσίδα καὶ Αἰγύπτου, τοῖς τε μάγοις καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι μαθητεύων. Ζωροάστρην δὲ τὸν Μάγον τὸν Πέρσῃν ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἐδῆλωσεν. Βίβλους ἀποκρύφους τ' ἄνδρὸς τοῦδε οἱ τὴν Προδίκου μετιόντες αἴρουν αὐχοῦσι κεκτῆσθαι. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐν τῇ περὶ Πυθαγορικῶν Συμβόλων, Ναζαράτῳ τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ μαθητεύσαι ἱστορεῖ τὸν Πυθαγόραν—ἀκηκοέναι τε πρὸς τοῖτοις Γαλατῶν καὶ Βραχμάνων τὸν Πυθαγόραν βούλεται.

necessary to understand the passage as I have translated it, it being so very agreeable to his design, but otherwise making nothing to the purpose.

Now, sir, from all I have hitherto said, I am persuaded you will think it is abundantly evident, that *μαθητεύω* does always, even in the pretended neuter acceptation, signify *to instruct, teach*, or the like, and that our adversaries have not the least ground to surmise it is ever so much as once used in any case, so as not to include *teaching*. After the instances already given, and the considerable illustration of them by parallel passages, wherein *παιδεύω* and *ἀκούω*, being used to the same sense, interpret *μαθητεύω* in the other places: I say, after all this I should not need to recite more instances, but that you intimate it will be very acceptable; and therefore to the rest I add these two or three that follow.

Clemens Alexandrinus, speaking advantageously of philosophy against those who exploded it, from some premises he has before been arguing on, infers thus: ‘Wherefore it is no absurdity to say, that philosophy was given by Divine providence, as a forerunner to prepare and lead us on to that perfection which is in Christ, if it is not ashamed, but learns (*μαθητεύουσα*) to advance from barbarous wisdom to the truth!’ Again, commending the holy Scriptures to the Greeks, he has these words, which I transcribe at large, because that will give the more force to the instance; ‘The word which

<sup>1</sup> Stromat. lib. vi. p. 690. Οὐκ ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐκ τῆς θείας προνοίας δεδῶσθαι, προπαιδεύουσιν εἰς τὴν διὰ Χριστοῦ τελείωσιν, ἣν μὴ ἐπαισχύνεται γνῶσει βαρβάρῃ μαθητεύουσα φιλοσοφία προκόπτειν εἰς ἀλήθειαν.

‘enlightens us is more to be valued than gold or  
 ‘precious stones, and more desirable than honey or  
 ‘the honey-comb: for how should that but be ex-  
 ‘tremely desirable, which quickens and invigorates  
 ‘a mind that is buried in darkness, and sharpens  
 ‘the sight of the understanding? For as, if there  
 ‘were no sun, notwithstanding the other stars, all  
 ‘would be night; so if we had not been enlightened  
 ‘by the word, we should not have differed from the  
 ‘fowls which are wont to be fattened in the dark,  
 ‘and nourished for death. Let us therefore receive  
 ‘the light, and learn of (μαθητεύσωμεν) or be in-  
 ‘structed by the Lord<sup>m</sup>.’

As remarkable and plain are several passages in  
 Origen, for example, where he is explaining Matt.  
 xiii. 52. ‘By *scribe* there may be understood one  
 ‘that is instructed in (μεμαθητευμένος) that knowledge  
 ‘which is according to the letter of the law<sup>n</sup>.’ And  
 a little after; ‘So this passage also may be ex-  
 ‘pounded tropologically, *Repent, for the kingdom of*  
 ‘*heaven is at hand*, to signify that the scribes, that  
 ‘is, those who rest in the bare letter, if they repent,  
 ‘may be instructed (μαθητεύωνται) in the spiritual  
 ‘doctrine which, by Christ Jesus, is the quickening

<sup>m</sup> Protreptic. p. 70. Γλυκὺς ὁ λόγος ὁ φωτίσας ἡμᾶς, ὑπὲρ χρυσίου  
 καὶ λίθου τίμιον· ποθεινὸς ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ μέλι καὶ κηρίον. Πῶς γὰρ σὸ  
 ποθεινὸς ὁ τὸν ἐν σκότει κατορωρυγμένον νοῦν, ἐνεργῇ ποιησάμενος, καὶ  
 τὰ φωσφόρα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποξύνας ὄμματα; καὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἡλίου μὴ  
 ὄντος ἐνεκα τῶν ἄλλων ἀστρῶν νύξ ἂν ᾗ τὰ πάντα, οὕτως εἰ μὴ τὸν  
 λόγον ἔγνωμεν, καὶ τούτῳ κατηργάσθμεν, οὐδὲν ἂν τῶν σιτευόμενων  
 ὀρνίθων ἐλειπόμεθα, ἐν σκότει πιαινόμενοι, καὶ θανάτῳ τρεφόμενοι.  
 Χωρήσωμεν τὸ φῶς, ἵνα χωρήσωμεν τὸν Θεόν. Χωρήσωμεν τὸ φῶς,  
 καὶ μαθητεύσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ.

<sup>n</sup> Comment. in Matth. p. 218. \*Ἡ γραμματεὺς πᾶς ὁ μεμαθη-  
 μένος τῇ κατὰ τὸ γράμμα τοῦ νόμου διδασκαλίᾳ, &c.

‘word, and is called *the kingdom of heaven*°.’ And in the same sense the word several times occurs in this and the next page; to which I will add but one instance more from this Father, taken out of the books he writ against Celsus. Lashing the pride and arrogance of that virulent adversary of Christian religion, who boasted he was thoroughly acquainted with that institution, he says, ‘This is just as if any one who has travelled into Ægypt, where the wise men, according to the learning of that country, reason profoundly among themselves about many things which they account sacred; but the common people amuse themselves with some fables which they have heard, and the reason of which they do not comprehend:—it is, I say, just as if such a one shall fancy he understands all the wisdom of the Ægyptians, when he is taught (*μαθητεύσας*) only by the empty chat of the vulgar, without having ever been admitted to the conversation of the priests, or been instructed by them in the Ægyptian mysteries<sup>p</sup>.’ This passage is the fitter to conclude with, because it is very plain from the design of it, that the word in dispute must here signify *to teach*; and

° Comment. in Matth. p. 219. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ τροπολογήσεις τὸ μετανοεῖτε, ἥγγικε γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἵν’ οἱ γραμματεῖς, τουτέστιν, οἱ τῷ γράμματι ψιλῷ προσαναπανόμενοι, μετανοοῦντες ἀπὸ τῆς οἰαύτης ἐνδοχῆς μαθητεύονται τῇ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐμψύχου λόγου πνευματικῇ διδασκαλίᾳ, καλουμένην βασιλείᾳ οὐρανῶν. [Comm. om. x. Op. vol. iii. p. 458. edit. Benedictin.]

p Orig. contra Cels. lib. i. p. 11. Δοκεῖ δέ μοι τοιοῦτόν τι περὶ οὐκ εἶναι, ὡς εἴ τις τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἐπιδημήσας, ἔνθα οἱ μὲν Αἰγυπτίων σοφοί, κατὰ τὰ πάτρια γράμματα, πολλὰ φιλοσοφοῦσι περὶ τῶν παρ’ ὑποῖς νενομισμένων θείων, οἱ δὲ ἰδιῶται μύθους τινὰς ἀκούσαντες ὧν οὐς λόγους οὐκ ἐπίστανται, μέγα ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς φρονοῦσιν· ᾗτοιο πάντα τὰ Αἰγυπτίων ἐγνωκέναι τοῖς ἰδιώταις αὐτῶν μαθητεύσας, καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἱερῶν συμμίσξας, μηδ’ ἀπὸ τινος αὐτῶν τὰ Αἰγυπτίων ἀπόρρητα μαθόν. Sect. xii. Op. tom. i. p. 330. edit. Benedict.]

Origen himself explains it so, by μαθεῖν, in the last clause, which is most apparently used to signify exactly what before he had expressed by μαθητεύσας.

All this largely shews that the Greek word μαθητεῖν does, as I asserted, always signify *to teach*, or the like; and that those unsuitable phrases, *to be disciples*, or *to make disciples*, if they can ever be admitted, must always be understood to include teaching, for it is this certainly the word principally imports; and therefore the pretended intransitive acceptation of it can be of no service, nor is supported by any one precedent.

But besides I observe, that though the thing I oppose could be defended, and all I have been saying had no force, it can nevertheless be no advantage to our adversaries in the present case; because however the word is used in some other places, yet in the commission it is undoubtedly used transitively, expressing an action which is to affect and terminate in the subjects mentioned, viz. all nations; and thus *to teach, instruct, &c.*, all nations, is good sense; but *to be disciples* all nations, is nonsense, and cannot be the meaning of infinite wisdom. The construction with an accusative is also a demonstration that the word is here transitive and not neuter; though besides it neither can, nor I believe will be denied, and therefore I need not insist longer upon it.

But further I add, that *discipleship* necessarily includes *teaching*; and therefore though the word could be here rendered *to be a disciple*, yet our antagonists would not be able to avoid the difficulty we press them with; it being enough for us, that however they will strain and torture the word, *teaching* is still necessarily included in it.

On this account also, to render the word *make*



*disciples*, which is much more sensible and proper, can do no manner of hurt to us, nor kindness to our adversaries. Perhaps there may be some colour for this notion of the word in the nature of things; and it is true, there does seem to be something peculiar in the word; for it means not simply *to teach*, but *to teach so as to prevail, to bring over to an opinion, and actually to fix and settle principles* in the persons taught; and this indeed is consequentially making disciples; but then the word does not primarily signify *to make disciples*, but only *to teach successfully*, and so as to prevail. Though the terms are almost reciprocal, and *teaching successfully* is *making disciples*; and *making disciples*, *teaching successfully*: yet you may observe this difference, that *teaching* is the cause; and being *made disciples* the effect produced by that cause, and following upon it. And therefore, though *to make disciples* were supposed in effect to signify the same thing I plead for, yet I would choose rather to lay that phrase aside, because it is not the immediate import of the word; and besides, we find by experience, the interests and prejudices of some men can make it liable to ambiguity; which, on the contrary, the primary and immediate sense is wholly free from. If it be rendered *teach*, as you see in all the instances I have given it unavoidably signifies, it can lose nothing of its sense; for *discipleship* will follow if that be to be included; but if it be rendered *make disciples*, our adversaries take an advantage, and attempt to argue us out of the principal signification, pretending it means to *make disciples* in general, not only by *teaching*, but even without it too.

Thus Dr. Hammond, in his Answer to the Query

about Infant-Baptism, argues<sup>1</sup>, That the word in the commission does signify simply *to make disciples* of all nations; and he would have the words immediately following to explain and determine the manner how this was to be done, namely, by baptizing them; 'making this form of baptism,' says he, 'their ceremony of receiving them;' he does not mean of receiving them into church-communion, but into discipleship, that is, appointing this form of baptism alone to be that which makes them disciples; which, whatever it be else, I am sure is no good divinity.

Besides, the doctor never goes about to shew the word is ever once used so: whereas I have largely shewn it cannot be so understood; which I doubt not will weigh more with you, sir, than the doctor's bare assertion: and if any you shew these letters to, out of deference to the doctor's learning, shall insist upon his interpretation of the word, I challenge them to shew any instances, or the least tolerable reason to imagine that μαθητεύω and βαπτίζω are in any degree synonymous, or ever put to signify one and the same thing, or that one ever so explains the other, as it is pretended to do in the commission; nay, or that μαθητεύω can once signify in any passage *to make disciples* in general, exclusively of *teaching*. If they will make either of these particulars appear, I will not only alter my present opinion, but always gratefully acknowledge myself very much obliged to them for the favour. I am,

Sir,

Yours, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Six Queries, pages 196, 197.

## LETTER VIII.

DR. HAMMOND explains *μαθητεύσατε*, Matt. xxviii. 19, by John iv. 1, without, if not contrary to, all reason—His unfairness noted—A passage of the bishop of Sarum in favour of the antipædobaptists' sense of the word: another from Mr. Le Clerc—What Mr. Wall urges from the notion of a disciple, considered—*Μαθητής* is only said of such as are at least capable of being taught—Mr. Wall's groundless and unfair attempt upon Acts xv. 10, to prove the contrary, examined—The words relate only to adult persons—A disciple, in common discourse, ever signifies one that is taught, &c.; so it does likewise among the Latin authors, from whom we borrow it—Proved from the etymology of *discipulus*—By instances from Cicero; from Juvenal; from Terence; from Cornel. Nepos.—All the world have had the same notion of a disciple—Instances in the eastern languages—In the Anglo-Saxon—No instance that it is used otherwise in any Greek author; but many of the sense the antipædobaptists plead for—One taken from John ix. 27: one from Acts xviii. 23: another from Dionysius Halicarnassæus. Illustrated also by synonymous words—Instances of *ἀκροατής*; from Diogenes Laertius; from Plutarch—An instance of *ἀκροώμενος* from Plutarch—Of *ἀκουστής* from Ælian; from Dionysius Halicarnassæus—This illustrated by instances from Roman authors; from Cicero—The inference from all this in the present dispute—A passage from Lucian; wherein he explains the phrase 'to make disciples'—Disciple and teacher used as correlates; by Themistius; by Cicero—This applied to the present dispute—The most judicious have always allowed, that the word in the commission particularly signifies *to teach* and *instruct*; as Constantine, Stephens, Leigh, Turretine, Episcopius, Limborch, Cameron, Martin Bucer, Rigaltius, Erasmus, Grotius, Lucas Brugensis—This proved to be the sense of the place from the several versions; the Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Persic, Æthiopic, Arias Montanus, Vulgar Latin—That of Sixtus V; Beza, Erasmus, Castalio; the Italian, Spanish, French, Dutch, Danish, Saxon, Vulgar Greek—The Fathers of the primitive Church always understood the word

in the commission signified *to teach*: thus Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, St. Justin, Eusebius—Apostolical Constitutions; St. Clement, Epiphanius, St. Basil, Tertullian, Clarus bishop of Mascula, St. Hierome—Lastly, this is proved to be the true sense of the place by the authority of the sacred scriptures themselves—The practice of the apostles—Parallel places—The sum of the evidence—From all it follows, that the commission obliges to teach all that are to be baptized: and therefore that the Scriptures are not so silent concerning the baptizing of infants as the pædobaptists would have us think—So that if Mr. Wall should prove the Jews and Christians did baptize their children, we have still reason enough not to admit the practice.

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SIR,

THOUGH I concluded my last with a challenge, I do not expect it should be accepted. Dr. Hammond, I am persuaded, was conscious that no instance of that kind could be produced; and therefore he waives it, and only makes an unaccountable reference to what he calls a parallel phrase, John iv. 1, *The Pharisees had heard that Jesus made and baptized more disciples than John.*

But why must this place above all others be singled out for a parallel? Can we imagine the doctor did not know it would have been much more to the purpose, to have cited proper instances which are truly parallel, instead of one which is not so? It is to be feared the doctor's prejudices interposed in this case: for, as I observed before, when he has another design to serve, he readily allows the natural sense of μαθητεύσατε (and in the commission particularly) is *to teach*. So he gives it in his paraphrase, and continually in his notes on the place; and says, 'in other places, when the commission of

‘preaching and gathering disciples is given to the ‘apostles:’ plainly allowing this place to be one, where it is given. He expressly interprets the word so when he says, ‘for so the words as they ‘are repeated by St. Mark must necessarily signify, ‘*Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature*; to those of the synagogue first, ‘and then to others also. Thus St. Luke hath set it ‘down most distinctly, ch. xxiv. 47, *that repentance and remission of sins should be preached to all nations, beginning at Jerusalem.*’

Again, he allows that St. Peter only repeats this very commission, when he says, Acts x. 42, *He commanded us to preach unto the people, &c.* Now does not the doctor seem in all this to contradict himself, and pull down at one time, what at another he so zealously established? And therefore his suffrage in this case signifies little. Had he not been strongly biassed, he would doubtless have attempted to explain the commission by no other parallel passages but those he has cited in his Annotations.

I know there are several beside the doctor, who give the word the same sense; as bishop Nicholson<sup>a</sup>, Dr. Featly<sup>b</sup>, and indeed most pædobaptists, who attempt to argue from the commission. But of all who translate it thus, the most considerable, I at present remember, are the right reverend bishop of Salisbury, and the learned Mr. Le Clerc; who nevertheless both of them confirm my assertion. His lordship expressly says, that ‘by the first teaching or ‘making of disciples, that must go before baptism, ‘is to be meant the convincing the world<sup>c</sup>,’ &c.

<sup>a</sup> On the Catechism.

<sup>b</sup> Dipper Dipped, p. 59.

<sup>c</sup> Exposition of the Articles, p. 300.

And though Mr. Wall is so angry with Mr. Le Clerc at other times, (like the gnat on the bull's horn in the Arabian Fables<sup>d</sup>;) I fancy he was better pleased with him, when he found that learned gentleman asserted, *μαθητεύειν* signifies *to make disciples*; and imagined it was giving in to his opinion. But the French version of the New Testament, which Mr. Le Clerc afterwards published with remarks, soon put our author out of humour again, by letting him see that rendering the word so could do him no service: for there he renders it in the text, *faites des disciples*, 'make disciples;' and in his remark on it says, 'This is the proper signification of the word *μαθητεύειν*, and not *to teach*:' but then he adds immediately, to prevent all mistake, and in contradiction to the common criticism, that 'it is nevertheless very true, that disciples are not 'made but by teaching<sup>f</sup>.' That is as if he had said, *μαθητεύειν* does indeed mean and include *teaching*; but the full sense of it is not so properly expressed by *teach*, because it signifies something more than simply *to teach*, viz. as I said before, *to convince*, to teach so as to prevail, and bring over to an opinion; which is in effect *to make disciples*. So that the word still necessarily includes *teaching*. And I hardly remember any considerable man that ventures to assert the contrary.

Mr. Wall, to make the cavil seem the more reasonable, endeavours to shew from the notion of a disciple, that persons may be made disciples without

<sup>d</sup> Lockmanni Fab.

<sup>e</sup> C'est le propre sens du verb *matheeteuein*, et non *enseigner*.

<sup>f</sup> Quoiqu'il soit vrai que l'on ne fait des disciples, qu'en les enseignant.

being taught, nay, or without so much as being in a capacity of receiving instruction; and infers, since the word, which signifies *to make disciples*, does not necessarily include teaching, it may refer to persons not capable of being taught; and so he thinks the commission may be easily understood to extend to infants as well as adult persons.

But this is sufficiently confuted by the large evidence I have given above of the import of the Greek word, that it does necessarily include teaching as well in the commission, as in all other places where it occurs. And in the next place I will add, that *μαθητής*, or *disciple*, is only said of such as are capable of being taught, and properly belongs to them only in this respect.

All our author says to the contrary, and which I can think it so much as possible any man should be persuaded by, is expressed in these words: ‘St. Peter, ‘speaking against the imposing of circumcision on ‘the heathen converts and their children, words it ‘thus, *to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples*: ‘whereas it was infants especially on whom this ‘yoke was attempted to be put<sup>s</sup>,’ Acts xv. 10.

Mr. Wall delivers nothing on this occasion, which is likely to deceive the most ignorant, unless it be this passage, wherein he makes so bold with the Scripture, that perhaps such as are too credulous, and not given to examine matters as they ought, may take it for a clear Scripture-proof of the thing. But you, sir, I am satisfied, will see through our author’s fallacious misapplication of the text he cites. And how disingenuous is it to insinuate, with as much assurance as if it were plainly expressed, that

<sup>s</sup> Part ii. page 378. [514.]

the holy apostle is speaking against imposing circumcision on the heathen converts and their children? And how much worse is it to assert downright, that 'it was infants especially, on whom 'this yoke was attempted to be put?' Any man who reads the passage, even though he be entirely in Mr. Wall's interest too, cannot but see this assertion is grossly false, and that infants are nowhere mentioned; nor is any thing said which can be applied to them in the whole chapter.

The brethren, ver. 1, on whom this attempt was made, are said to be *taught* that without being circumcised they could not be saved. This cannot include infants. Again, ver. 5, speaking only of those who were converted, the Pharisees said it was needful to circumcise them. And St. James, in ver. 19, very plainly shews us that he did not understand the question to relate at all to infants, but only to the adult; for he confines his determination to them alone: *Wherefore*, says he, *my sentence is, that we trouble not them, who from among the Gentiles are turned to God.* And sure none will say infants can turn from a false religion to God. But the whole scope of the place, the injunctions of that venerable council of the apostles, their letter, and all the circumstances, do very evidently conspire to shew their consultation related not to infants, but only to the adult. Nay, St. Peter, in the words immediately preceding the verse our author cites, says of the persons who are the subject of the dispute, that God had 'purified their hearts by faith:' from whence it is plain, the persons he spoke of were actual believers; and consequently by *μαθητῶν*, in the following words, the holy apostle intends only the



converts, exclusively of their infants, if they had any. This you see, sir, is so very clear, that nothing but prepossession could incline any man to assert, it was infants especially on whom this 'yoke *was attempted* to be put;' in hopes he might hence conclude that infants are here called *disciples*, and by consequence must be capable of being made so.

It is a great dishonour and disservice to religion, that any who are teachers of it, and appointed to guide the people, should endeavour to support their fancies and opinions by a fallacy. Nothing, I think, can be more disingenuously urged, or be a more palpable affront to the common sense of mankind, than to affirm *μαθητῆς* may be applied to infants and persons not capable of being taught; for every body constantly uses the word, and always understands it to mean one that is taught or learns. In common discourse it is ever so: and ask a countryman, what he means by the word *scholar*, he will tell you he means one that goes to school to learn. And if you ask what he means by *disciple*, he will tell you, such a man's disciple is one that holds his opinions, and thinks his way best. And you will find the countryman understands his mother-tongue better than some others seem to do; and if he uses more honest simplicity, he uses more reason too in explaining his meaning, than the bias of interest and parties will suffer some men of letters to do: and if the matter were to be referred, all the world would prefer the good plain sense of the countryman. Now common use, which fixes the sense of words, is an undoubted proof of their signification.

Besides, we may argue not only from the use of

the word *disciple* among ourselves, but likewise from the use of it among the Latin authors, from whom we have borrowed it. Now it is plain, *discipulus* is formed from *discere, to learn*. If the name then is imposed on persons for that reason, viz. *quia discunt*, it can be applied to none but such, in whom the reason is to be found; otherwise it would be given not only without, but even contrary to the reason of it. But the Latins always used it, according to its etymology, to signify *one that was taught* (*qui discit*, says Stephens, *one that learns*); and Cicero promiscuously uses *discipulus* and *discens*, a learner, as synonymous words.

In that strange relation concerning Diodotus the Stoic philosopher, he says, that even after he was blind, ‘though it seems almost impossible to be done without the use of sight, yet he taught geometry, directing his scholars, (*discentibus*,) or pupils, or disciples, by words, whence and whither, and what lines they should draw<sup>h</sup>.’ What he here means by *discens*, is in other places expressed by *discipulus*. Thus in a letter to Papirius, he says, ‘Hirtius and Dolabella are my scholars, or disciples, (*discipuli*,) or students in oratory, and my masters in feasting<sup>i</sup>.’ The same opposition of master and scholar Juvenal makes; when lashing those who instil their own covetous principles into their children, he says, ‘Take my word for it, the scholar

<sup>h</sup> Cic. Quæst. Tuscul. lib. v. cap. 39. Tum quod sine oculis fieri posse vix videtur, geometriæ munus tuebatur, verbis præcipiens discentibus, unde, quo, quamque lineam scriberent.

<sup>i</sup> Epist. Famil. lib. ix. Epist. 16. Hirtium ego, et Dolabellam dicendi discipulos habeo, cœnandi magistros.

‘ will outgo the master<sup>k</sup>.’ Old Simo in Terence uses *discipulus* in the same sense; speaking to Davus, by whom he supposes Pamphilus was tutored and advised; ‘ Why do not you mind your pupil, (*discipuli*), and give him better instructions<sup>l</sup>?’ Nepos, in the Life of Epaminondas, remarks, that ‘ he did not discharge his tutor, till he had gone far beyond his fellow-scholars (*condiscipulos*) in learning; by which it was easy to foresee he would excel as much in other things<sup>m</sup>.’

From these instances, instead of infinite others which might be produced, it is plain, that those from whom we borrow the word *disciple*, meant by it one that *is taught*, or that *learns*. And the same notion of a disciple all the world have had as well as the Romans: therefore in the Hebrew (and other eastern languages to the same effect) a disciple is תלמיד, from הלמד in *hiphil*, which signifies *to make to learn*, or *to teach*: and למך from למך in *piel*, which signifies the same thing: and so likewise in the Anglo-Saxon, Leornung-cniht is *a disciple*, or *scholar*, from leornigan, *to learn*. It is therefore one of the most unreasonable things that can be, to insist upon any other contrary sense, which besides is not countenanced even by the common use of the word among ourselves.

Our author takes his argument for the sense he gives the word, from the Scriptures: but neither

<sup>k</sup> ——— Meliorem præsto magistro

Discipulum.

Satyr. xiv. 211.

<sup>l</sup> Andria, Act. 3. Scen. 1. 19. Si Num immemor es discipuli?

<sup>m</sup> Pag. 138. Neque prius eum a se dimiserit, quam in doctrinis tanto antecesserit condiscipulos, ut facile intelligi posset, pari modo superaturum omnes in cæteris artibus.

in that sacred book, nor any one Greek author, is *μαθητής* ever once used as he pretends. The place he particularly cites has been examined already, and turned against him: and he is opposed also by many others. John ix. 27. says the man who was born blind, *Wherefore would ye hear it again? will ye also be his disciples?* that is, will ye also believe in him, and submit yourselves to his instruction, and become his followers? Again, Acts xviii. 23. *He went over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order, strengthening all the disciples.* Doubtless all the disciples then were capable of being confirmed in the faith they had all received; for it is plain, no other are here acknowledged for disciples, but such as believed; for *all the disciples* were strengthened.

And so in all other instances the word is only applied to adult persons, who were actually taught, agreeably to the sense it is used in, by other authors. So Theopompus the historian is called by Dionysius Halicarnassæus 'the most famous of Isocrates' scholars or disciples', (*μαθητῶν*), that is, of all who were brought up or instructed by Isocrates. And it is frequent to meet with *Πλάτωνος μαθητής*, *Ἀριστοτέλους*, *Σωκράτους μαθητής*, and the like, to signify such as were instructed by Plato, Aristotle, Socrates, &c.; and it may be illustrated further by those words which are used as synonymous to it. Thus Diogenes Laertius, in the life of Strato Lamp-sacenus, observing that there had been eight noted men of that name, says, 'the first was Isocrates' hearer or scholar (*ἀκροατής*); the second, this person

<sup>a</sup> Epist. ad Pompeium de Præcipuis Historic. cap. 6. *Ἐκτενέστατος πάντων Ἰσοκράτους μαθητῶν γενόμενος.*

‘ whose life I am writing; the third was a physician, ‘ a disciple (*μαθητῆς*) of Erasistratus<sup>o</sup>,’ &c. It is to be noted here, that *ἀκροατῆς* and *μαθητῆς* are promiscuously used to mean the same thing: now as the former necessarily implies actual instruction, *μαθητῆς* must do so too.

Indeed what is meant by *μαθητῆς* in some places, we find commonly enough expressed by *ἀκροατῆς*, *ἀκουστῆς*, &c., in others; which being therefore parallel passages, are justly brought to explain one another: for which reason I will give you a few instances.

Plutarch, speaking of Lycurgus, says, that ‘ he ‘ first studied philosophy, being a hearer, (*ἀκροατῆς*,) ‘ scholar, or disciple, of Plato the philosopher<sup>p</sup>.’ Again, speaking of Hyperidas, he says, ‘ he had ‘ been a hearer or disciple (*ἀκροατῆς*) of Plato the ‘ philosopher; together with Lycurgus and Iso- ‘ crates<sup>q</sup>.’ Sometimes he expresses the same thing by *ἀκροώμενος*, as in the life of Isocrates, ‘ he was ‘ a disciple or hearer (*ἀκροώμενος*) of Prodicus the ‘ Chian, and of Gorgias the Leontine<sup>r</sup>,’ &c. And sometimes again we meet with *ἀκουστῆς*, to the same effect: thus Ælian says, ‘ Zoilus of Amphi- ‘ polis, who wrote against Homer and Plato and ‘ others, was a disciple or hearer (*ἀκουστῆς*) of Poly-

<sup>o</sup> Lib. v. Πρῶτος Ἰσοκράτους ἀκροατῆς. δεύτερος, αὐτὸς οὗτος. τρίτος, μαθητῆς Ἐρασιστράτου, &c.

<sup>p</sup> Vit. decem Rhetor. p. 1545. Ἀκροατῆς δὲ γενόμενος Πλάτωνος τοῦ φιλοσόφου, τὰ πρῶτα ἐφιλοσόφησεν.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid. p. 1559. Ἀκροατῆς δὲ Πλάτωνος γενόμενος τοῦ φιλοσόφου, ἅμα Λυκούργου, &c.

<sup>r</sup> Vit. decem Rhetor. p. 1538. Ἀκροώμενος Προδίκου τε τοῦ Χίου, καὶ Γοργίου τοῦ Λεοντίνου.

'crates the Athenian<sup>s</sup>.' So Dionysius Halicarnassæus calls Cephisodorus the Athenian 'a true and proper 'disciple or hearer (ἀκουστής) of Isocrates<sup>t</sup>.' To which perfectly agrees that parallel phrase of the same author, in a letter to Pompey concerning Plato; where excusing himself for his free censure of that great philosopher, he recounts several who had taken the same liberty before him: 'the first of whom,' says he, 'was his own scholar or disciple, (μαθητής,) 'Aristotle<sup>u</sup>,' &c. There is no other difference in these phrases, but that μαθητής in one is expressed by ἀκουστής in the other; which plainly shews the words to be synonymous in all such cases.

And so likewise the Roman authors, who are constant imitators of the Greeks, have the same expression. Cicero, the great master of Roman eloquence, having mentioned Theophrastus, adds, 'For Strato, who was his disciple, scholar, or hearer, ' (*auditor*) though a man of excellent parts<sup>x</sup>,' &c. And elsewhere, discoursing of the chief good, and mentioning Critolaus, he says, 'Diodorus his disciple (*auditor*) carried the notion further, and 'thought besides virtue, there should be freedom 'from all pain<sup>y</sup>.' In another place he has put

<sup>s</sup> Var. Hist. lib. xi. cap. 10. Ζωίλος ὁ Ἀμφιπολίτης, ὁ καὶ εἰς Ὅμηρον γράψας, καὶ εἰς Πλάτωνα, καὶ εἰς ἄλλους, Πολυκράτους μὲν ἀκουστής ἐγένετο.

<sup>t</sup> De Isocrat. Judic. cap. 18. pag. 163. Γησιώτατος ἀκουστής ἐγένετο.

<sup>u</sup> Pag. 203. Πρῶτον μὲν, ὁ γησιώτατος αὐτοῦ μαθητής Ἀριστοτέλης, &c.

<sup>x</sup> Academic. Quæst. lib. i. cap. 9. Nam Strato, ejus auditor. quanquam fuit acri ingenio, &c.

<sup>y</sup> De Finib. Bon. et Mal. lib. v. cap. 5. Diodorus, ejus auditor adjungit ad honestatem, vacuitatem doloris.

*auditor* and *discipulus* together, and plainly means the same thing by them. ‘Heraclides Ponticus,’ says he, ‘a learned man, hearer and disciple of ‘Plato, writes, that the mother of Phalaris dreamed ‘she saw the images of the Gods’, &c.

It sufficiently appears then from hence, that *μαθητής*, or a disciple, does undoubtedly mean a hearer or learner; and so *to make disciples* must imply to teach them, or to make them hearers, viz. by reading lectures, and instructing them, or the like.

Perhaps it may not be amiss to observe here, how well this agrees with some words of Cicero, concerning Dion the Sicilian; of whom, as we noted before, Plutarch says, that he was very desirous to hear (*ἀκοῦσαι*) or be instructed by Plato. As Cornelius Nepos also expresses it, ‘He was extremely ‘desirous (*audiendi*) of hearing him<sup>a</sup>.’ But Cicero in one place calls him Plato’s disciple; ‘Dion, who ‘was of Plato’s school, when his son was killed by a ‘fall from the top of a house, not only gave no signs ‘of grief, but calmly went on with what he happened ‘to be doing at the time, without any commotion; ‘by which this great man, and disciple of Plato ‘shewed, how others, who would be thought wise, ‘should behave themselves<sup>b</sup>.’ In another place,

<sup>a</sup> De Divinatione, lib. i. cap. 23. Matrem Phalaridis scribit Ponticus Heraclides, doctus vir, auditor, et discipulus Platonis, visam esse videre in somniis simulacra deorum, &c.

<sup>a</sup> Vit. x. Dion. cap. 2. p. 98, 99. Dion ejus audiendi cupiditate flagraret.

<sup>b</sup> De Consol. p. 567. a. Dion certe, qui e Platonis schola defluxit, cum ejus filius in atrium e tecto delapsus interisset, non modo non doluit, sed etiam in eo, quod tum forte agebat, constanter perstitit; quo facto judicavit et vir sapiens et Platonis

speaking of the same person, he says, 'Who was it that enriched Dion of Syracuse with all kind of learning? Was it not Plato? &c. Did Plato instruct Dion in any other arts?' &c. In the former passage he calls Dion 'Plato's disciple;' and in the latter, he explains what he meant by it, and says, he was instructed by Plato: as if both expressions amounted to one and the same thing; and that to call any one Plato's disciple, was just the same as to say, he was taught by Plato.

Thus Lucian also, who perhaps understood the propriety of the Greek as well as any man, has expounded it. Anacharsis was come from Scythia to Greece to learn of Solon, &c., the wisdom and manners of the Grecians, and the art of government, as he himself says; and Lucian introduces him saying to Solon, 'You cannot be more willing to teach (διδάσκων) me, and make me your disciple, (μαθητὴν ποιούμενος,) than I shall be, with pleasure, to hear you discourse of laws and government<sup>d</sup>.' Here it is necessarily imported, that *to make a disciple*, is *to teach*; and that it is the office of a disciple or scholar, to hear and *learn*. And therefore too we sometimes find μαθητῆς and διδάσκαλος, a *teacher* or *master*, used as correlates; and as such, opposed to each other: so Themistius, in a speech to the senate,

discipulus, quid cæteros, qui sapientes haberi volunt, facere oporteat. [Cicero. Op. fol. Hamburgi, 1618. tom. iv. p. 315. l. 50.]

<sup>c</sup> De Oratore, lib. iii. p. 131. a. [cap. 34.] Quis Dionem Syracusium doctrinis omnibus excolivit? non Plato? &c. Aliquis igitur artibus hunc Dionem instituit Plato, &c.

<sup>d</sup> De Gymnas. p. 276. Ὅστε οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις διδάσκειν με, ἢ μαθητὴν ποιούμενος, ὥς ἔγωγε ἡδέως — ἐπακούοιμι περὶ πολιτείας καὶ νόμων διεξιόντος.



says, ‘ Though I am not capable of saying any thing ‘ worthy of this audience, but what I have before ‘ learned from you ; yet I have strangely ventured to ‘ take upon me the part of a master, instead of that ‘ of a disciple<sup>e</sup>.’ Evidently importing, that μαθητής is a *learner* or a *hearer*, ἀκροατής, as the same author elsewhere expresses it<sup>f</sup>. Cicero likewise using the same kind of opposition, says, ‘ Panætius the master ‘ or teacher (*doctor*) of Posidonius, but the scholar ‘ or disciple (*discipulus*) of Antipater, degenerated ‘ indeed from the Stoics, or the chief men of that ‘ sect <sup>g</sup>’——.

Now the terms of a relation, according to the logicians, you know, sir, mutually imply and relate to each other ; and therefore as master implies a scholar to whom he is master, so scholar implies a master to whom he is scholar ; and the ground of these relations is teaching in the master and learning in the scholar ; which therefore either term of the relation does always necessarily import.

By this time I have certainly carried it beyond all possibility of doubting, that μαθητής and μαθητεύω do ever include *teaching* in their signification. And to all I have still this to add, that notwithstanding some of the pædobaptists generally build so much upon this common criticism, and think their cause sufficiently secured by it, the most judicious and learned men have always asserted, that the word

<sup>e</sup> Orat. xiii. p. 298. Ὡστε καὶ νῦν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο εἰπὼν δεξιῶς ἢ ἂ παρ’ ὑμῖν ἔμαθον ῥήματα, ἀντὶ μαθητοῦ ἀμφισβητῶ διδάσκαλος εἶναι.

<sup>f</sup> Orat. ii. p. 53.

<sup>g</sup> De Divinatione, lib. i. cap. 3. Sed a Stoicis, vel principibus ejus disciplinæ, Posidonii doctor, discipulus Antipatri, degeneravit Panætius, &c.

does (at least in the commission) signify *to teach* and *instruct*. I do not desire you should take this on my word, and therefore I will produce some instances of it; for in matters of this nature I trust nobody myself, nor would have any body trust me.

I need not repeat what I have before noted from the bishop of Salisbury<sup>h</sup>, and Dr. Whitby<sup>i</sup>, nor how much even Dr. Hammond<sup>k</sup> has been shewn to acknowledge the true meaning of the word: but I will go on to observe, that Constantine, though he thinks the word sometimes means *to be* or *to make disciples*; yet he says, that it signifies *doceo*<sup>l</sup>, διδάσκω, *to teach*, as the primary and more genuine sense; and for this he cites the commission, Matth. xxviii. 19, as a plain undoubted instance: and so before him does Henry Stephens<sup>m</sup>; for when he says the word signifies *doceo, to teach*, without any hesitation he confirms it by this commission, as supposing it to be an unexceptionable instance to that purpose. And Leigh<sup>n</sup> from these does just the same thing.

That profound Calvinist divine, Monsieur Turretine, says, infants ‘are no more capable of actual faith, than they are of that instruction with which the adult are to be taught, and made disciples of Christ, Matth. xxviii. 19.’ And in another place, he says, ‘Christ, sending his apostles to gather a church, supposes the necessity of a precedaneous

<sup>h</sup> Supra, p. 276.    <sup>i</sup> Supra, p. 277.    <sup>k</sup> Supra, p. 275, 309.

<sup>l</sup> Lexic. ad voc.

<sup>m</sup> Thesaur. ad voc.

<sup>n</sup> Critica Sacra, ad voc. in margin.

<sup>o</sup> Institut. Theolog. par. ii. p. 640. §. 9. [Locus xv. Quæst. 14.]  
Cujus non magis capaces sunt, quam illius institutionis, quæ docentur adulti, et discipuli Christi fiunt, Matt. xxviii. 19.

‘ instruction and knowledge of his doctrines ;  
 ‘ Matth. xxviii. 19, *Go teach all nations, baptizing*  
 ‘ *them* p.’ And so he goes on, by other passages  
 likewise, to confirm this method of making church-  
 members. I know this same gentleman, treating  
 of infant-baptism in another place, denies again  
 that the word means *to teach*<sup>q</sup>; but how these  
 contradictions can be reconciled, let the reader  
 judge: those who will give themselves the liberty  
 to think, will doubtless see it could be nothing but  
 the prejudice of education that made him deny  
 what he had at least twice before asserted in the  
 same system.

Episcopus, the judicious Remonstrant, establish-  
 ing the divine authority of water-baptism, has, among  
 the rest, this remarkable passage to our purpose :  
 ‘ Perhaps you will object, that μαθητεύσατε does not  
 ‘ signify properly *to teach*, but *to make disciples*. Be  
 ‘ it so; yet they could not make disciples, but by  
 ‘ teaching them, and by teaching them those things  
 ‘ which belonged to the Christian religion: for *dis-*  
 ‘ *ciple* and *doctor*, or *teacher*, are relatives. There-  
 ‘ fore St. Mark xvi. 15, does not use μαθητεύειν, but  
 ‘ κηρύττειν, i. e. *to preach* or *teach*. Besides, μαθητεύειν,  
 ‘ or the Hebrew תלמד, does not in this place signify

p Ibid. par. iii. p. 3. §. 8. Christus mittens apostolos ad ecclesiæ  
 collectionem supponit necessitatem institutionis et cognitionis doc-  
 trinæ præcedanæ, Matt. xxviii. 19. *Ite docete omnes.*

q Institut. Theolog. part iii. p. 464. §. 4. [Where, it ought to  
 be added, Turretine has an express inquiry and dissertation  
 (Quæstio 20.) on the point of infants’ baptism, and determines  
 against the anabaptists, chiefly on the ground of this very com-  
 mand of Christ.

‘barely to teach, but to teach so as to gain disciples  
 ‘תלמידים,<sup>r</sup>’ &c.

Mr. Limborch answering the same objection with Episcopius, and with the same design, says,  
 ‘1. They could not make disciples but by teaching.  
 ‘2. By this instruction the disciples were brought  
 ‘over to the faith before they were baptized,  
 ‘Mark xvi. 15, 16<sup>s</sup>.’ And again elsewhere he says,  
 ‘Hence also our Lord commanded, that men should  
 ‘first be taught and brought over to the faith,  
 ‘and after that be baptized, Matth. xxviii. 19;  
 ‘Mark xvi. 15, 16<sup>t</sup>.’

Cameron on the place says, ‘*μαθητεύειν* signifies  
 ‘simply *διδάσκειν*, to teach; but here, to teach what  
 ‘relates to religion<sup>u</sup>.’ The famous Martin Bucer  
 allows the sense which the antipædobaptists contend  
 for, and does not in the least attempt to evade it;  
 for to the argument which we draw from the com-

<sup>r</sup> Respons. ad Quæst. 37. p. 35, 36. Dices: *μαθητεύσατε* non significat proprie *docete*, sed *discipulos docete*. Esto inquam. At discipulos facere non poterant nisi docerent, et quatenus docerent ea, quæ ad religionem Christi pertinebant. *Discipulus* enim et *doctor* sunt relata: unde Marcus, cap. xvi. 15, non utitur verbo *μαθητεύειν* sed verbo *κηρύττειν*, id est *prædicare*, sive *docere*. Deinde *μαθητεύειν* sive Hebræum תלמד non significat hoc loco simpliciter *docere* tantum, sed *docere ita ut discipulos*, sive תלמידים, *consequaris*, &c. [Apud Episcopii Opera, tom. i. part. 2.]

<sup>s</sup> Institut. lib. v. cap. 67. §. 7. 1. Non poterant discipulos facere, nisi docendo. 2. Per institutionem illam discipuli ad fidem adducebantur, antequam baptizarentur, Marc. xvi. 15, 16.

<sup>t</sup> Ibid. cap. 68. sect. 2. Hinc et Dominus prius homines doceri et ad fidem suam perducere, dein baptizari jubet, Matth. xxviii. 19; Marc. xvi. 15, 16.

<sup>u</sup> Quin simpliciter *μαθητεύειν* est *διδάσκειν*, *docere*; sed *docere ea quæ pertinent ad religionem*.

mission, he only says, ‘The anabaptists think they ‘argue very strongly against infant-baptism from ‘this place. But I have answered their objection ‘above, chap. iii. And till they can find a place ‘where they are commanded to baptize none but ‘those that are taught, this text will be of no ‘advantage to their opinion\*.’ So that Bucer acknowledges here the word does mean *to teach*; and fancies infant-baptism cannot hence be proved unlawful, for no other reason, but because it is not said expressly, *baptize such only as are taught*. But how weak and trifling this is, every one that reads it must see. He refers indeed to chap. iii, for a fuller answer; but all he says there is, that the commission speaks only of adult persons, and that it is no wonder therefore it should put teaching before baptizing.

Rigaltius argues professedly from this sense of the words, in his note on St. Cyprian’s sixty-fourth epistle. The passage is worth reading, but too large to be here transcribed, and therefore I can give you but a taste of it: ‘This may be gathered,’ says he, ‘from what has been said above, where the words of ‘our Lord are exceeding clear, who commands to ‘teach before they baptize’.

Erasmus in his Annotation on Matth. xxvii. 57,

\* Enarrat. in 4. Evangel. in loc. p. 204. Anabaptistæ infantium baptismum fortissime oppugnare sibi videntur. Sed his responsum supra est, cap. 3. Sane dum non habent locum, quo præcipitur, tantum doctos baptizare, nihil roboris suæ sententiæ hinc adferent.

† Cyprian. p. 280. not. a. Hoc necessario colligi videtur ex antedictis, ubi apertissima sunt verba Domini, jubentis docere, priusquam tingere.

cites the commission as an instance in which the word is used transitively, and signifies *to teach*; and accordingly translates it *docete, teach all nations*. And in his paraphrase on the words, he takes it altogether in that sense.

The incomparable Grotius explains the Greek word by a passage he quotes from the Constitutions ascribed to St. Clement; without naming the place indeed, but you may find the words exactly as he has transcribed them, lib. vii. cap. 40, 'All un-  
'godliness and impiety,' says he, 'must be first  
'removed, and the contrary principles of true holi-  
'ness introduced, and so they must be baptized<sup>z</sup>.' In the Annotation on the verse following the commission, concerning which the dispute is, he remarks, that there are two sorts of teaching: the one more imperfect, by way of initiation into the first principles; the other more complete, by a fuller and more accurate instruction: and 'the former,' says he, 'seems to be the import of the word μαθητεύειν: for it means to initiate as it were into the doctrines, and this is to precede baptism; the fuller instruction is signified by διδάσκειν, and is here placed after baptism<sup>a</sup>.'

To these I will add but one authority more, namely, that of Lucas Brugensis, who in his note

<sup>z</sup> In loc. Sensus explicat scriptor Constitutionum quæ Clementi adscribuntur, Δεῖ ὑμᾶς πρότερον πᾶσαν ἀσέβειαν ἐξελόντας ἀπ' αὐτῶν, τότε τὴν εὐσέβειαν αὐτοῖς ἐγκαταβάλλεσθαι, καὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀξιώσθαι.

<sup>a</sup> Grot. in Matt. xxviii. 20. Cum duplex sit docendi ratio, alia per modum εἰσαγωγῆς τῶν στοιχειουμένων, alia per modum διδασκαλίας, prior supra videtur indicari verbo μαθητεύειν; id enim est velut in disciplinam initiare, et baptismo præponitur: posterior verbo διδάσκειν, quod hic post baptismum locatur.

on verse 19, says, ‘he commands them to teach<sup>b</sup>.’ And afterwards, in the note on verse 20, he has these words: *Διδάσκοντες*] ‘The evangelist,’ says he, ‘uses another word in the verse above, where we read *μαθητεύσατε*: the difference between them seems to be this, that *μαθητεύειν* signifies to teach those who are yet utter strangers to the doctrine, and not under your tutorage, so as to make them disciples; but *διδάσκειν* means to teach such as are already become disciples, and give themselves up to your instructions. And this difference suits very well with the place: for Christ commanded first to teach the nations which are strangers to God and the truth; and afterwards, when they have submitted themselves to the truth, to teach them those precepts and rules of life which are worthy God and the truth they profess<sup>c</sup>. “The order here observed, says St. Hierome, is excellent: he commands the apostles, first to teach all nations; and after that, to dip them with the sacrament of

<sup>b</sup> In 4. Evangel. Jubet eos docere. [Lucas Brugensis wrote *doceri*; but Mr. Gale translates as if it were *docere*.]

<sup>c</sup> *Διδάσκοντες*] Alia est vox Græca versu superiori, ubi legitur ——— *μαθητεύσατε*: discrimen hoc esse videtur, quod *μαθητεύειν* sit, *docere eos qui a doctrina et magisterio tuo sunt alieni ita ut reddas discipulos*: *διδάσκειν* vero, *docere jam discipulos redditos, et magisterio tuo addictos tanquam præceptorem*: quod discrimen loco optime congruit. Jubet enim Jesus, prius ut gentes a Deo et veritate alienæ veritatem doceantur: deinde postquam veritati colla subdiderint, doceantur præcepta vitæ Deo ac veritate dignæ. ‘Ordo——pulcherrimus,’ inquit Hieronymus,——‘jussit apostolis, ut primum docerent universas gentes, deinde fidei intingerent sacramento, et post fidem ac baptismum quæ essent observanda præciperent.’ Ante baptismum docenda est veritas evangelica, docenda sunt ea potissimum quæ sunt fidei, post baptismum ea quæ sunt morum.

‘faith; and then, to shew them how they must  
 ‘behave themselves after their faith and baptism.”  
 ‘Before baptism, they are to be taught the truth of  
 ‘the Gospel, especially matters of faith; but after  
 ‘baptism, they are to be instructed in the Christian  
 ‘morals, and what concerns their practice.’

It would be easy to bring several other authorities; but these I think sufficient to shew that some of the best judges acknowledge my sense of the word. And now, in the next place:

2. I am to confirm this to be the meaning of it in the commission, by the several versions which have been made: for of all I have yet seen, and am capable of finding the sense of, not one renders it otherwise. Mr. Wall, on this very occasion, takes the liberty positively to assert, that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew; though it has been shewn to be very improbable, (or at least exceeding doubtful,) by men of great reputation, and therefore is a notion not fit to ground an argument upon. All the use he makes of this remark is to insinuate, that probably the word which St. Matthew originally used might better bear to be rendered, and more properly signify, only to *proselyte*, or *enter as a disciple*, without implying to *teach*, as the Greek word by which it is translated does. His words are these: ‘The common language of the  
 ‘Jews, (in which language it was that St. Matthew  
 ‘wrote this Gospel,) as it does not admit of this  
 ‘phrase, *an infant is taught, or instructed*; so it  
 ‘very well allows of this other, *such or such an infant*  
 ‘*is entered a disciple, or made a proselyte* to such a  
 ‘profession or religion<sup>d</sup>.’

Though it is very doubtful, at least, whether

<sup>d</sup> Part ii. p. 378. [514.]



St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew or not; yet, supposing he did, our adversaries can have no help from thence at all: For,

1. It is very likely the ancient translator of that Gospel into Greek, whoever he was, (some think it was St. Matthew himself,) understood the force of the original word at least as well as our author can do, who does not know what the word was. But,

2. We cannot guess what word was used in the supposed Hebrew original, better than from the Hebrew and other Oriental versions which are now extant; and these make strongly against Mr. Wall. The Hebrew copy, printed at Paris 1584, reads תלמוד; and that published by Hutterus reads למד from למד, whose signification no man questions to be *didicit, docuit, he learned, he taught*, or the like. In *kal* it signifies *learn*, Jerem. x. 2; in *pihel*, *teach*, as Psalm xciv. 12. The Syriac version likewise reads it ܠܡܕܝܬ, exactly in the same sense, and from the same root ܠܡܕ, *erudit, he taught, or instructed*. The Arabian translator, using just the same word, reads تلمدوا, which signifies properly *to teach*, as Acts xix. 20; Matt. xiii. 52. The Persic, indeed, I know nothing of; but Mr. Sam. Clerk, of Merton college, Oxon, in the Polyglot, translates the place, *docete, teach*; and therefore it is to be presumed that version also favours our cause as much as the others undoubtedly do. The Æthiopic is most express; for I do not know that መሠረ is ever once used to signify any thing else but *teach, learn, &c.* Wemmers<sup>e</sup>, in

<sup>e</sup> [See Jacobi Wemmers' Lexicon Æthiopicum, 4to. Romæ, 1638.

Jobi Ludolphi Lex. Æthiop. 4to. Lond. 1661.—fol. Francofurti, 1699. Edm. Castelli Lexicon Heptaglotton, fol. Londini, 1669.]

his Lexicon, and Ludolphus after him, and Castellus, render it by *teach*, but never give the least intimation that it is any where used in a sense which can favour our adversaries; and I think I may be positive, no man can produce an instance from the Scriptures where it does not mean properly *to teach, learn, &c.*, except only from the Old Testament, where indeed it sometimes signifies *to prey, or plunder*; a sense which can do our antagonists no service: but the Lexicons furnish us with instances enough of its proper sense; to which might be added Matth. xi. 1. and 1 Cor. xv. 2, 3.; Gal. i. 8, 9. and, to the best of my knowledge, all other places where the word occurs, at least in the New Testament. It may be further noted, that this Æthiopic word bears considerable affinity in sense, and is the same in orthography with the Arabic *تعلم* which is rendered *peritus fuit*, 'he was skilled,' or 'learned,' in the Catalogue drawn up by the admirable Bochart, and afterwards enlarged by Ludolphus<sup>f</sup>, to shew the agreement of the Æthiopic with other eastern languages.

Hence it is plain, all the Oriental versions we know of understand and render the commission so, as to make *μαθητεύσατε* signify *to teach*. To these we may add Arias Montanus, the Vulgar Latin, and that corrected by command of Sixtus V. Beza's version, and that of Erasmus, which render it by *docete*; and Castalio's, which has it *doctum, teach*. The old Italian version reads *insegnate, to teach*; and Diodati renders it *ammaestrate*, in the same sense. A Spanish edition at hand has *ensennad*;

<sup>f</sup> [See this, as a preliminary dissertation, attached to his Æthiopic Grammar, fol. Frankfort, 1699.]

the French, printed at Lyons, renders the word by *enseigner*; and that which was made by the gentlemen of Geneva, by *instruiseur*, all signifying properly and literally *to teach*: as likewise do the Dutch version, which reads *leert*, the Danish *laerer*, and the Saxon edition, published by Junius, *lærað*. And the late version into the vulgar or modern Greek, made for the use of the Greek church, renders it *διδάξετε*, the same word which in Matt. xxviii. 20, (the verse next to that which has the word in dispute,) our adversaries say, signifies literally and properly *to teach*. And I think all our English translations likewise do constantly render the commission, *teach all nations*, &c., which must appear to be the true sense of the place: for the admirable and exact agreement of so many, and perhaps all, translations; and the judgment of so many learned gentlemen employed in making them, is very considerable, and will certainly be allowed a great argument in the case, strongly to confirm our sense, as expressed in the common English version, to be the true, and the most conformable to the original.

3. In the third place I am to shew you that the Fathers of the primitive church also understood the words in the same sense. Clemens Alexandrinus reads the place thus: ‘*Go about and preach*, (*κηρύσσετε*,) and ‘*such as shall believe, baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*.’ So Origen likewise takes it in this passage<sup>h</sup>: ‘The apostles there-

<sup>g</sup> Epitom. p. 800. C. Περιιόντες κηρύσσετε, καὶ τοὺς πιστεύοντας βαπτίζετε εἰς ὄνομα Πατρὸς, καὶ Υἱοῦ, καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.

<sup>h</sup> Comment. in Matt. p. 225. Καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι διὰ τοῦτο κατέλιπον τὸν Ἰσραὴλ, ἐποίησαν δὲ τὸ προστεταγμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος

‘fore left Israel, and obeyed our Saviour’s command, *‘Teach all nations; and. You shall be unto me witnesses both in Jerusalem and in all Judæa, &c. They did therefore as they were commanded in Jerusalem and Judæa; but when the Jews rejected the word, for a prophet has no honour in his own country, then they turned to the Gentiles.’* It is plain Origen speaks of the apostles’ preaching, and cites the words in dispute, Matt. xxviii. 19, as the commission Christ gave them to do so. Again, mentioning the completion of several of our Lord’s prophecies, among the rest he places this: ‘We every day,’ says he, ‘see the fulfilling of those things our Lord long since foretold, as that the Gospel shall be preached in all the world, and that the disciples going forth should preach the word to all nations<sup>1</sup>,’ &c. In another place he takes notice of the wisdom of Divine providence in facilitating the work of the apostles, by bringing so great a part of the world under the Roman emperor’s jurisdiction; ‘that it might not be rendered,’ says he, ‘too difficult for the apostles to execute the commands their Lord had given them to *go and teach all nations.* It is certain that Jesus was born in the reign of Augustus, a prince, who as it were prepared the way for him, by reducing so many kingdoms into

Μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ τό· Ἔσεσθέ μοι μάρτυρες ἐν τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, καὶ Σαμαρείᾳ, &c. πεποιήκασιν μὲν οὖν τὸ προστεταγμένον ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, καὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ. ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ προφήτης ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ πατρίδι τιμὴν οὐκ ἔχει, μὴ παραδεξαμένων Ἰουδαίων τὸν λόγον, ἀπεληλύθασιν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη. [Op. fol. Rothom. 1668. tom. i. 225.]

<sup>1</sup> Contra Celsum, lib. ii. p. 84. Καὶ αἱ ὁρῶντες πληρούμενα τὰ εἰρημένα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πρὶν γένηται. τὸ κηρυχθῆναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦτο ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ· καὶ πορευθέντας αὐτοῦ τοὺς μαθητὰς εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ καταγγελλέειν.

one. For had all different states remained distinct, under separate independent governors, it might have been a considerable obstruction to the spreading of the doctrine of Jesus through all the world<sup>k</sup>. It is plain that Origen in this passage cites and understands the commission in dispute, only in the sense we contend for; *teach all nations*, being explained in the last clause by 'spreading the doctrine of Jesus through all the world.'

The exposition of faith attributed to St. Justin has this passage: 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, being about to return into heaven after his resurrection from the dead, gives his apostles a charge concerning teaching the nations, and the doctrine of baptism, in these words; *Go teach*<sup>l</sup>,' &c. And the same Father, in his treatise entitled 'A Dialogue with Trypho the Jew,' speaking of teaching and converting the nations, and alluding to the commission, Matt. xxviii. 19, says, 'When Christ came and sent forth his disciples, he instructed (ἐμαθήτευσεν) or taught them, i. e. *the nations*<sup>m</sup>.'

Eusebius says, 'The apostles went out and preached

<sup>k</sup> Contra Celsum, lib. ii. p. 79. ἵνα μὴ—χαλεπώτερον γένηται τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τὸ ποιῆσαι ὑπερ προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, εἰπὼν. Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. καὶ σαφές γε, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Αὔγουστου βασιλείαν ὁ Ἰησοῦς γεγέννηται, τοῦ (ἐν οὕτως ὀνομάσω) ὁμαλίσαντος διὰ μιᾶς βασιλείας τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς. ἦν δ' ἂν ἐμπόδιον τοῦ νεμηθῆναι τὴν Ἰησοῦ διδασκαλίαν εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην τὸ, πολλὰς εἶναι βασιλείας, &c.

<sup>l</sup> Expos. Fidei, p. 376. A. Ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, τὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἄνυδον ποιεῖσθαι μέλλων, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν μαθητείαν, καὶ τὴν τοῦ βαπτίσματος διδασχὴν τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἐπαίδευσε, λέγων, πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε, &c.

<sup>m</sup> Page 272. Ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἐλθὼν, διὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, πέμφας ἐμαθήτευσεν αὐτούς.

'to the nations with the power and authority of Christ, who had said unto them, *Go teach all nations in my name*<sup>m</sup>.' By which it is plain he understood these words meant *to preach the Gospel*.

The Apostolical Constitutions, which are of considerable antiquity, though not so ancient as it is pretended, may serve to shew us likewise that the more impartial ancients of the time in which they were composed, if we should allow them to be pædobaptists, act more ingenuously than some moderns, and confess the words in dispute are to be understood in the antipædobaptists' sense, as appears beyond contradiction from these words: 'All ungodliness and impiety must be first removed, and the contrary principles of true holiness introduced, and so they must be baptized. For our Lord commanded, saying, *Teach first all nations*: and after that he adds, *And baptize them in the name*<sup>n</sup>,' &c. Whoever is the author of the Homilies ascribed to St. Clement, (perhaps it is the interpolator,) says exactly the same thing in these words, which are supposed to be spoken by St. Peter: '° When our Lord sent us to

<sup>m</sup> Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 5. 'Ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ τοῦ κηρύγματος διδασκαλίᾳ τὴν εἰς σύμπαντα τὰ ἔθνη στείλαμένων πορείαν σὺν δυνάμει τοῦ Χριστοῦ φήσαντος αὐτοῖς, Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου, &c.

<sup>n</sup> Lib. vii. cap. 40. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς πρότερον πᾶσαν ἀσέβειαν ἐξελόντας ἀπ' αὐτῶν, τότε τὴν εὐσέβειαν αὐτοῖς ἐγκαταβάλλεσθαι, καὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀξιῶσαι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ Κύριος ὑμῶν οὕτως ἡμῖν παρήγγειλεν, εἰπὼν· Μαθητεύσατε πρότερον πάντα τὰ ἔθνη· καὶ τότε ἐπήγαγε τὸ, καὶ βαπτίσατε αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.

° Clementin. Hom. xvii. cap. 7. Εἰς τὰ ἀμαθῆ ἔθνη ἀποστέλλων ἡμᾶς, βαπτίζειν αὐτοὺς εἰς ἅφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, ἐνετειλατο ἡμῖν πρότερον διδάξαι αὐτούς.

the ignorant Gentiles, to baptize them for the remission of sins, he commanded us first to teach them.'

Epiphanius too paraphrases the words thus: '*Teach all nations*; that is, convert and turn the nations from their corruptions to the truth<sup>p</sup>.' And to the same purpose St. Basil says, as he is translated by Mr. Wall himself, 'They must be first instructed, and then admitted to baptism<sup>q</sup>.' This author indeed speaks more fully here to this effect, than Mr. Wall has cited him.

The sense of the Latin Fathers in this case is evidently the same, from their translating the place constantly *docete, teach*. Tertullian in his treatise of Baptism reads the words, '*Go teach (docete) the nations*,' &c. To this he adds, John iii. 5, *Except a man be born again of water and the Spirit, &c.* And from both concludes, that 'faith and the necessity of baptism are very closely joined together; therefore all who believed were baptized. So St. Paul when he believed was baptized<sup>r</sup>.' And a little after he says, 'First they were to preach, and after that to baptize<sup>s</sup>.' In another place, on occasion of this commission, he says, 'The apostles

<sup>p</sup> Epiphan. advers. Hæres. lib. i. p. 50. Μαθητεύσατε τὰ ἔθνη, τουτέστι, μεταβάλλετε τὰ ἔθνη ἀπὸ κακίας εἰς ἀλήθειαν.

<sup>q</sup> De Baptismo, lib. i. cap. 2. p. 643. D. Δεῖ πρῶτον μαθητευθῆναι τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ τότε καταβιβάσθαι τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος.

<sup>r</sup> Cap. xiii. *Ite, inquit, docete nationes, tingentes eas, &c.* Huic legi collata definitio illa: nisi quis renatus fuerit, &c. obstrinxit fidem ad baptismi necessitatem. Itaque omnes exinde credentes tingebantur. Tunc et Paulus ubi credidit, tinctus est.

<sup>s</sup> Cap. xiv. Nam et prius est prædicare, posterius tingere.

‘ were appointed doctors or teachers of the nations<sup>t</sup>. But nothing can be more clear than the following words of the same Father; when our Lord was ‘ going to his Father after his resurrection, he commanded ‘ the eleven to go and teach (*docere*) the nations, which ‘ were to be baptized in the name, &c. The apostles, ‘ therefore, (who, as their name signifies, were sent,) ‘ having by the authority of the prophecy in the ‘ Psalms elected Matthias by lot for a twelfth in ‘ Judas’ room, and received the promised power of ‘ the Holy Spirit, to enable them to work miracles ‘ and speak with tongues; first preached faith in ‘ Christ, then constituted churches in Judæa; and ‘ afterwards went out into all the world, and published the same faith among the nations<sup>u</sup>.’

The confessor Clarus, bishop of Mascula in Numidia, referring to the commission, Matt. xxviii. 19, says, ‘ they after the apostles baptized the faith of ‘ believers<sup>x</sup>;’ that is, they baptized, according to the commission and practice of the apostles, such as believed, upon the profession of their faith.

To these I will only add St. Hierome, and I have

<sup>t</sup> Præscript. Hæretic. cap. viii. Nationibus destinati doctores apostoli, &c.

<sup>u</sup> Tertull. de Præscript. Hæretic. cap. xx. Undecim digrediens ad Patrem post resurrectionem, jussit ire et docere nationes, intinguendas in Patrem, &c. Statim igitur apostoli (quos hæc appellatio missos interpretatur) assumpto per sortem duodecimo Matthia in locum Judæ, ex auctoritate prophetiæ, quæ est in Psalmo David, consecuti promissam vim Spiritus Sancti ad virtutes et eloquium, primo per Judæam contestata fide in Jesum Christum, et ecclesiis institutis, dehinc in orbem profecti, eandem doctrinam ejusdem fidei nationibus promulgaverunt, &c.

<sup>x</sup> Cyprian. de Concil. Carthag. Suffrag. lxxix. ‘ Credentium ‘ fidem baptizantes.’



done with his head. He, commenting on the words of the commission, says, ‘The order here observed ‘is excellent: for he commands the apostles, first to ‘teach all nations, and after that to dip them with ‘the sacrament of faith; and then to shew them ‘how they must behave themselves after their ‘faith and baptism.’ And Mr. Wall has transcribed words to the same effect from this place of St. Hierome, which he thus translates; ‘They first ‘teach all the nations, then when they are taught ‘they baptize them with water; for it cannot be ‘that the body should receive the sacrament of ‘baptism, unless the soul have before received the ‘true faith.’ This passage, it seems, had been made use of against pædobaptism; and Mr. Wall undertakes to answer the argument raised from it, by insinuating that the commission, and the comment of St. Jerome, relate only to adult persons. But this is so far from lessening, that it rather adds to its strength; for if this commission does not relate to infant-baptism, and therefore not authorize it, the dispute is at an end, unless they can shew us some other that does command it; which all men know cannot be done.

4. Having proved our sense to be the same in which the Fathers of the primitive church always understood the commission; I am now, in the last

γ In Matth. xxviii. 19. Ordo præcipuus, jussit apostolos ut primum docerent universas gentes, deinde fidei intingerent sacramento, et post fidem ac baptismum quæ essent observanda præciperent.

\* Ibid. Primum docent omnes gentes, deinde doctas intingunt aqua: non enim potest fieri ut corpus recipiat baptismi sacramentum, nisi ante anima fidei susceperit veritatem.

place, to confirm it to be the true, by what is infinitely of more weight than any thing urged before, I mean, by the authority of the sacred Scriptures themselves.

And here we might largely consider the history of the practice of the apostles in this matter; for they undoubtedly acted in perfect conformity to the directions and will of their great Master, and therefore their practice is justly accounted the best comment upon our Saviour's words and institutions. Now they, it is plain, (if the Scriptures give us a good account of the matter,) constantly taught first and baptized afterwards; at least, it is on all hands allowed, they took this method with the Gentiles, to whom they were sent by this commission; by which it is evident how they to whom it was immediately given understood it, and that they thought it obliged them to proceed in that manner. And this precedaneous teaching and faith were necessary, not only to render the persons *willing* to be baptized, as some fancy, but likewise *fit* to receive the salutary grace; and therefore St. Philip<sup>a</sup>, even after the eunuch had discovered his willingness, and asked for baptism, requires a hearty faith, as a necessary condition even in persons ever so willing; *If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest be baptized*; and not else, though you desire it ever so much.

But the instances of this kind are too numerous to be all repeated, and withal so very easy and obvious, that it is needless to do it: for all the passages in Scripture, which any way relate to the apostles' practice in the matter, are of this kind.

<sup>a</sup> Acts viii. 37.

Of St. Paul and Barnabas, when they came to Derbe, it is said, '*they had preached the Gospel to that city, and had taught many*<sup>b</sup>.' The word in the original, here rendered *taught*, is the same with that in the commission; which makes this passage the more considerable, in that it shews the practice of the apostles, and at the same time determines the sense of that Greek word to be as we contend.

But the parallel places to the commission, Matt. xxviii. 19, put the sense of it beyond dispute: for St. Mark expresses it thus; *Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature*<sup>c</sup>, &c. St. Luke, with reference to the same thing, says, *That repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations*<sup>d</sup>. And St. Peter himself, who received the commission immediately from the mouth of our Lord, assures us this was his sacred meaning; for *He commanded us*, says he, *to preach unto the people*<sup>e</sup>, &c., all which sets the matter in the clearest light imaginable. And therefore, I think, I may safely conclude from the whole, that it is fully demonstrated to be one of the plainest things in the world that μαθητεύω signifies properly *to teach*, and that this is the sense of it particularly in the commission, Matt. xxviii. 19. And therefore our adversaries, when they cavil at this sense, do at best but trifle and contradict the constant use of the Greek word, and common sense of mankind; the unanimous agreement of the several versions, the joint authority of the primitive saints, the judgment of the most learned men, and the clear meaning

<sup>b</sup> Acts xiv. 21.   <sup>c</sup> Mark xvi. 15.   <sup>d</sup> Luke xxiv. 47.   <sup>e</sup> Acts x. 42.

and declarations of the Spirit of God in the Holy Scriptures.

The argument, I advanced then, remains in its full force, and unanswered; namely, that since this commission empowers to baptize only such as it first commands to be taught, there is no warrant for baptizing infants contained in it; but on the contrary, infants are effectually excluded, such conditions being made necessary as they are not capable of. And therefore, well might I conclude as I did, that the Scriptures do not leave the matter so doubtful as our adversaries pretend. This very much alters the case from what Mr. Wall represents it to be; and shews his scheme is not well laid, so material an error being discovered in his very foundation.

I designed to have added some other considerations to the same purpose; but what I have insisted on at large, especially the sense of Matt. xxviii. 19, which is in itself so considerable a part of the dispute, and so essential to the determination of it, does plainly demonstrate that the Scriptures are not silent, but do sufficiently declare the baptism of infants to be no Divine institution, and that the commission to baptize was not intended to include infants, but purposely excludes them. Should our author therefore be able to prove ever so solidly that the Jews and primitive Christians did use to baptize their proselytes together with their infant children, we should notwithstanding have very good grounds to reject the practice. And this is the first thing I undertook to make out. What I have so largely and particularly said concerning some

Greek words, does, I confess, look like pedantry and affectation; but the tenaciousness of our adversaries, who are not satisfied with a few instances, together with your commands, sir, are my excuse,

I am,

Yours, &c.

## LETTER IX.

Mr. Wall's attempt founded on mistake—His pretences from the Jews examined; which he has collected from the learned men who best understood their writings—Their authority of no weight; the reasons they go upon being too weak—It is without sufficient ground that our author asserts, the Jews make it plain they baptized their proselytes before Christ's time—His authorities too late—Great alterations introduced in a short time—The passages produced by Mr. Wall do not so much as intimate that the Jews baptized proselytes in our Saviour's time—There is no necessity to understand the words in Mr. Wall's sense—The Jews used to baptize for the pollution contracted in circumcision, which may be the baptism spoken of in the Talmud—Some of the rabbins plainly shew us they neither knew nor allowed of any initiatory baptism—They ridicule our baptism as a fanciful ceremony, as appears from the ancient Nizzachon, which fixes the rise of the practice in Christ; and mentions it as an initiation peculiar to Christians; and opposes to it the Jewish circumcision only—It appears further from rabbi Isaac—So that the Jewish writings, if any thing, prove contrary to our author's opinion—The authority of the rabbins very insignificant, and never to be depended on—Their writings in general stuffed with very foolish romantic tales—Their fabulous and ridiculous way of accounting for Christ's power of miracles, from Toldoth Jeschu—More instances of their ridiculous whimsies, from the Talmud—Their foolish misapplication of Scripture—Their impious representations of God—A fabulous account of the origin of Rome—Another concerning R. Eliezer, in confirmation of their traditions—The Pirké of Eliezer—Another reason why the rabbins are not to be relied on is, that they profess to follow their doctors in all they assert, though ever so absurd—They prefer their Talmud and traditions before the Scriptures themselves—The character of the rabbins—Their excessive pride—Their way of interpreting the Scriptures—The sanhedrim, though made up of their best men, consisted only of magicians, as themselves assert, &c.—They have endeavoured to corrupt the Scriptures—All learned men give the

same character of the Jews and their writings—So Mr. Le Clerc, Mr. Du Pin, Mr. Dodwell, Scaliger, Nauclerus, Buxtorf, Lightfoot—And the same character is given of them by Christ himself too, who censures them more particularly on account of their washings—Their traditions were many and mischievous—All these things applied to the present dispute.

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SIR,

IN my last I made it appear that Mr. Wall is guilty of an error in the very groundwork of his system, which of itself utterly subverts the whole. For what is built on an error, that is, on a nullity, has no real foundation, and must sink of course; and I hope to satisfy you in the sequel, that every part of his scheme, and all his arguments, stand on the same foot, and are as ill supported. For to say the Jews did initiate their proselytes and their infants by baptism, and that the apostles and primitive church baptized the infants of believing parents, are mistakes; and the arguments brought to prove these two points are no better.

First, we will examine what our author says as to the practice of the Jews; and we shall soon see he comes very short of proving that they did in our Saviour's time, and before, initiate proselytes by baptism. His testimonies from the Jewish writings, he says, are taken from the most learned and judicious authors, who best understood that sort of learning: so that we may expect in Mr. Wall the united strength of our ablest adversaries all brought.

It is considerable, I confess, that so many learned men favour the opinion: but it will appear from the

reasons they give for it, that they were too credulous, and entertained it too easily; which lessens their authority very much. Mr. Wall intimates that he is not very capable of searching into the rabbinical writings himself; but he and all men are able to judge whether the arguments urged from them are sufficient to justify the pædobaptist doctrine.

Our author argues first from the Jews themselves; who, he says, make it 'fully to appear that the custom of the Jews before our Saviour's time was 'to baptize as well as circumcise any proselyte'; &c. But this is too hastily affirmed. Several instances I know are and may be produced, which are express; but it does not therefore follow, that the matter must be so clear and evident: on the contrary, it seems a doubtful case at best, even from those very passages they cite, (if they are supposed to be the best,) whether this custom be so ancient as it is pretended; for though they plainly speak of their baptism, they do not prove it was practised in Christ's time, much less before it.

I think Mr. Wall cites only the two Talmuds, Maimonides, and Rabbi Solomon, to confirm his assertion. Now several of the greatest rabbins, as Serira Gaon, Jehuda Ben-Levi, the author of *Meor Enajim*, Abraham Ben-David, Rab. Minchas, Isaac Abravanel<sup>b</sup>, &c.; and from these the most learned Christian writers say, the ancientest part of the Talmud, namely that which is called the *Mischna*, was not compiled till about one hundred and fifty years after the destruction of Jerusalem. Buxtorf

<sup>a</sup> Introduction, p. 3. [4.]

<sup>b</sup> Vid. R. D. Ganz, in *Tzemach David*, ad an. 978. *Milen.* 4.



says, ' the Jerusalem Talmud was compiled by ' Rab. Jochanan, two hundred and thirty years ' after Christ<sup>c</sup>:' but the Gemara, which is the far greatest part of the Babylonian Talmud, was not made till five hundred years after Christ, nor till three hundred and eleven after the Mishna, according to Abraham Ben-David and Ganz<sup>d</sup>. Maimonides lived not till above one thousand one hundred years after Christ. Their own chronologist places the birth of our Lord an. 3761<sup>e</sup>, and the time of Maimonides about 4927<sup>f</sup>, that is, one thousand one hundred and sixty-six years after; and Rabbi Solomon lived much about the same time; or according to Ganz<sup>g</sup>, but sixty years sooner.

Now, sir, can any reasonable man take the reports of authors who wrote so long after the times they speak of, for a sufficient proof of what was done so long before they were born? Had they cited any others who lived in, or so near the time of our Saviour, as to know what was then practised, the case would have been different, and we must have had recourse to the authors they mentioned: but since they have not done this, I think I may say Maimonides, though a great man, could know and relate what was done one thousand one hundred years before he was born, no better than any other man can now. And therefore such authorities in this case may justly be rejected: for every one knows how little men, who write at such a distance from the times they speak of, are to be depended

<sup>c</sup> Abbreviatur. p. 242.

<sup>d</sup> Tzemach David, ad an. 260. Millen. 5.

<sup>e</sup> Ganz, Tzemach David, lib. ii.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. lib. i.

<sup>g</sup> Tzemach David, lib. i. ad an. 4865.

on, any further than they produce some more ancient and authentic testimonies of one kind or other, in confirmation of what they say.

The Mischna, or text of the Talmud, though much the ancientest authority produced, is not wholly clear of this exception. And if the sense of the places transcribed be fairly represented, at most it carries the matter no higher than to one hundred and fifty years after the destruction of Jerusalem, (which happened anno Christi 70,) that is, two hundred and ten years after Christ. But will it follow, that because this book mentions the Jews baptizing their proselytes, therefore they used to do so above two hundred years before it was written? We are convinced by many examples what two hundred years can do in such cases. In the very case of baptism among ourselves in England, the manner of *dipping*, in about one quarter part of the time, was totally disused, and *sprinkling* substituted in its stead, and urged as the most suitable way, and as lawful as the other which was more ancient; and all this not only *without*, as Dr. Whitby notes, but likewise *contrary* to, the allowance of the Institutor, the approbation of the established church, and that express determination of the council, held under Kenwolfe, which I mentioned before<sup>h</sup>. And where is the necessity to suppose the fanciful Jews more constant and uniform in religious matters than ourselves? Their frequent and sudden relapses into idolatry under their judges and kings are instances of a different temper.

But not to insist upon this: the passages cited by

<sup>h</sup> Page 226.

Mr. Wall are so far from proving, that not one of them does so much as assert or intimate, that the baptism of proselytes was in use in our Saviour's time: how then could he pretend it was so plain a case? The first citation he reads thus: 'When a proselyte is received, he must be circumcised; and when he is circumcised, they baptize him in the presence of two wise men,' &c. But what of this? It shews indeed what was the method when this was written; but from what words is it to be collected, that the same custom had been observed for two hundred years before? which was the thing to be proved.

Besides, there is no necessity to understand the words in Mr. Wall's sense: and if it should be argued that they do not speak of an initiatory baptism, but only a purification from the blood of circumcision, with which the patient is supposed to be defiled; I do not see which way our author would be able to defend his construction. The commentaries on the Mischna, which are considerably later, perhaps may be allowed in some measure to favour our author; but the Mischna itself may very well mean another thing. For, as Maimonides notes, 'the style of it is short, and capable of diverse senses<sup>i</sup>.' That the Jews, on account of several kinds of pollution, used to purify themselves by washing, cannot be questioned; the *diverse washings* mentioned in the Epistle to the Hebrews<sup>k</sup> make it incontestable. And it is plain enough, that upon some such notion they were washed after the sore of circumcision was healed, as are also the

<sup>i</sup> Porta Mosis, p. 78, 79.

<sup>k</sup> Chap. ix. 10.

Mahometans<sup>1</sup> to this day from them. And this pollution seems to have been contracted from the blood of circumcision; for thus the Chaldee paraphrase, which goes under the name of Jonathan's, interprets the words Ezek. xvi. 6. of the blood of circumcision, from which ver. 9, God says, he washed and cleansed them: and the Jews in their second benediction<sup>m</sup> after circumcision apply the words in the same manner. And therefore it is observable, even all natural-born Jews were washed with this baptism, except only females, as Dr. Hyde<sup>n</sup> likewise notes, who not being circumcised, were not washed till they had contracted pollution some other way: and this plainly intimates that there was a baptism thought necessary on account of circumcision, or some pollution contracted thereby; otherwise persons who had been circumcised would not have been obliged to a baptism, from which others who could not be circumcised were excused.

Why then may not the Talmud be understood to mean only this washing for pollution by circumcision? This was to be done as soon as the cure of the sore was accomplished, and so was that spoken of in the Talmud; they are the same therefore in respect to time, and I do not understand how a person could be washed with two different washings at one and the same time.

Farther, the antiquity, &c., of the practice is rendered dubious, by the disagreement of the rabbins. Some plainly assert it; and others as plainly

<sup>1</sup> Bobovius de Turcarum Liturgia, p. 23. et Compend. Theol. Moham. per Reland. p. 59.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Buxtorf. Synag. Judaic. p. 100.

<sup>n</sup> In Not. 39. ad Bobov. Tract. p. 22. a.

intimate they neither knew nor allowed of such an initiatory ceremony. There is no need to be large in the proof of this; and therefore I shall instance but in one author or two.

They, who have read their writings against the Christians, must have observed they ridicule the sacrament of baptism as an unaccountable and fanciful ceremony. The anonymous author of the ancientest Nizzachon frequently touches upon it with his usual gall, and would expose it as very absurd and foolish; which to me is a clear argument he did not apprehend that our baptism was borrowed from the Jews: nay he argues against it in one place, where he says, 'It is nowhere commanded to plunge persons or proselytes into the water. Why therefore does Jesus command to do so?' The author must needs be understood to speak here of the baptism of proselytes; for he could not have said in general of all other baptisms, 'they are nowhere commanded.' In another place, attempting to shew the insignificance and uselessness of our sacred institution, he says, 'From what sin or uncleanness does this baptism purify? What sin or pollution is there in infant children, that ye baptize them?' His opposing our baptism so eagerly must import they had no such thing in use among them. The whole page indeed is to our purpose, but there are two or three words I cannot well pass by: the rabbin had said, that Christians ought to be circumcised in imitation of Christ and the apostles, as well as baptized in

אבל להשליך בן אדם במים לא נכתב מעולם כי. Pag. 53.  
למה זה היה לו לצוות לישו שבילה זו

שמץ שבילתם מה חטא ושומאח דוחה: Ibid. pag. 192.  
וכי ילד קטון שהם טובלים

imitation of them; to which, in the name of the Christians, he makes this objection, 'That Christ came to renew the law, and that he had laid aside or abolished circumcision, but instituted baptism'. The rabbin's blasphemous answer to this shall not be repeated, as making nothing to the point: only we may observe, the objection places the rise and validity of baptism in Christ's institution; and the Jew does not, in contradiction, say, it was borrowed from them; or that, since it had been a practice under their dispensation, there was as much reason to abolish that as circumcision, or the like: for a cavilling, quarrelsome Jew might have said a hundred such idle things on this occasion, if he had understood that Christ adopted the ceremony from them.

Perhaps some may think these citations from the ancient Nizzachon do not prove, that the author of it knew of no such baptism among the Jews as he found practised by the Christians; therefore I will add, that he expressly fixes the rise of the practice in Christ and St. John his forerunner; for he makes these trifling reflections on John's baptism, and the words in Matth. iii. 5, 6. 'But what signified all this? Who gave John power and authority to institute this baptism? Upon what law could he ground the fancy? neither on the old nor the new'. Had it been a custom among themselves, it would have been easy to see from whence St. John derived it; and the rabbin would not have failed to put us in mind how much we were beholden to them for

¶ ישו בא וחידש את התורה ועוב את המילה וציוה השבילה

¶ Ibid. pag. 195. וכל כך למה ומי ציוה ליוחנן לעשות זאת השבילה: באיוה תורה מצאה לא בקדמונית ולא בחדשה

the substantial ceremonies of our religion ; and that we copied our rite of initiation from their traditions.

In another place, upon the story of the young man who asked our Lord, what he must do to inherit eternal life, Mark x. 17, &c., this same writer observes, that Christ ‘does not command him to ‘be baptized’;’ nor take any notice of that novel invention, ‘but only inculcates to him the old ‘commandments.’ By which opposition of old commandments to baptism, he plainly signifies, that he took the baptism of Christ to be a new institution of his own, and something singular too, or at least not used by themselves ; else he would not have been so much disturbed at it, and argued against it so frequently. He mentions baptism also as the initiation peculiar to Christians, and opposes to it circumcision only, as the initiation of proselytes to Judaism. The passage is longer than I am willing to transcribe, and therefore I refer you to the book itself<sup>t</sup>.

The sense however is much the same with what rabbi Isaac has expressed in these words ; ‘They ‘have abrogated circumcision, and substituted baptism in its stead ; as they have likewise done with ‘the sabbath, instead of which they observe the first ‘day of the week ‘<sup>u</sup>.

\* Pag. 221. לא אמר לך ועשה טבילה אלא מצוות קדמוניות  
ציוה לו

<sup>t</sup> Page 242, 243, and 251.

<sup>u</sup> Chissuk Emunah, pag. 401. בטלו מצות מילה וקבעו שמד  
תחתיה וכן בטלו שביתת יום השבת ושובתים תחתיו ביום  
הראשון וכן בטלו כלל המצות—וולת קצת מן העריות  
&c. שנוהרין

[This treatise is subjoined to the Nizzachon quoted above.]

This is exceeding plain; for as they kept a new day instead of the ancient one, so he says they have 'in like manner' substituted a new ceremony of initiation instead of the old one: nay, in the very next words he complains, the Christians 'have abolished the whole law, and all the divine precepts which the law makes necessary, except only some things in relation to incest,' &c. Here he enumerates some of the moral precepts, but does not mention baptism at all; which therefore I argue was, in this author's judgment, no institution of Moses, nor practised by the Jews before Christ; because he asserts the Christians had abolished all rites besides those excepted, in the number of which he has not placed baptism.

And when some Christians had objected to the Jews, that they only circumcised the males, without using any initiatory ceremony for females, whereas the Christians by baptism initiate both sexes: if the Jews had used baptism, they might have replied, they did as much as the Christians: and yet the author of *Nizzachon*<sup>u</sup> does not make the least mention of it, but turns off the objection another way.

What has been said, makes it, I think, very clear,

1. That the passages Mr. Wall cites from the text of the Talmud, may only speak of baptism for purification, and not of baptism for proselytes.

2. That none of the Jewish writings, produced by him, do assert or imply, that proselytes were in, or so much as near Christ's time, usually initiated by baptism; which however was what our author should have proved: but on the contrary,

3. Some of the rabbins manifestly speak of the Christian ceremony as an invention of St. John the

<sup>u</sup> Pag. 251. med.



our Saviour; and affirm it expressly to be altogether new, and not grounded upon any law. From all which I may safely conclude, that the said Jewish writings are very far from proving what our author, and the gentlemen he transcribes, have undertaken to establish. For, in short, if any thing is to be collected from them, it is the contrary to that opinion: none of them say, as our author does, that the Jews 'before and in our Saviour's time,' used to baptize their proselytes; but some, as I have shewn you, directly assert that this initiatory ceremony was not practised till St. John's and Christ's appearance, whom they make to be the first authors of it: so that it could not be borrowed from the Jews. And as for any later practices of this bewildered people, they can be of no use to illustrate our Lord's design in the institution. And indeed, it is at best a very odd attempt, to put so violent an interpretation on our Lord's words, merely from the authority of the rabbins.

But in answer to Mr. Wall's arguing from the Jewish writings, I have this farther to say; that if the rabbins had universally asserted in so many words, that 'the Jews always did use to initiate 'their proselytes by baptism;' and that 'St. John and 'Jesus Christ borrowed the ceremony from them;' I should nevertheless think it the greatest folly and madness in the world to believe it on their sole authority. All who are acquainted with the Jews know, it is not without very good reason that I say this; for they are a despicable, ignorant, and whimsical sort of writers, whose credit is at the lowest ebb imaginable.

Though this character of them is notorious enough;

yet because our adversaries mention the rabbins so much in this dispute, and Dr. Hammond\* calls their authority, (not over-prudently,) 'the true basis of 'infant-baptism;' I think myself obliged to confirm what I here advance; being under a kind of promise likewise to assign some of the reasons which prove the rabbins and their writings are of no weight, and that their testimony cannot be relied on by any who love the truth, and take a prudent care not to be imposed on, in their search after it.

1. In pursuance of this, sir, I will first give you a taste of their writings, whereby you may judge what romantic authors they are. All their books, and almost every page in them, are so full of passages which demonstrate this, that I am at a loss where to begin, and what to single out; for to mention all of this kind, it would be to transcribe their whole books: but I will only present a specimen, which shall convince you what gallimaufries make up their compositions. That detestable libel, entitled *Toldoth Jeschu*, is filled with nothing else but the grossest falsehoods and blasphemies, and all asserted with as much assurance, and under such pretences of seriousness and honesty, as if they were certain truths. It would be criminal barely to repeat words so extravagantly impious, wherewith they slanderously abuse and affront the Lord of life; and therefore if you desire to know more particularly what that base author writes, I refer you to the book itself, rather than blot my paper with the repetition of many things it contains.

Some however of the less shocking I will venture to mention: the many and prodigious miracles our

\* Six Queries, p. 195, margin.

Lord wrought were too apparent and certain to be denied; and therefore these authors would, with their Fathers, evade the force of them, by attributing them to enchantments, and the power of devils. The relation is very long; however I will begin it, because it may shew what heed is to be given to their traditions; and what reason Christians have to regard those writers, who can thus traduce the most innocent and unspotted life that ever was in history, and obstinately disown the most apparent operations of a divine power. ‘David, ‘the king,’ they say, ‘in digging the foundation, ‘found a stone laid over the mouth of a pit, on ‘which was inscribed the proper name of God: this ‘he caused to be taken up, and placed in the holy of ‘holies. And the wise men, fearing lest some over- ‘curious young men might learn this name, and by ‘the power of it cause great disturbances in the ‘world; made, by their magic art, two brasen lions, ‘which they set at the door of the holy of holies, ‘one on the right hand, and the other on the left; ‘that if any should enter in, and learn this secret ‘name, the lions, as he came out again, should, by ‘roaring, strike him with such terror and confusion, ‘as to cause him entirely to forget the name he had ‘learned. Now the rumour being spread, that Jesus, ‘&c.—he left the upper Galilee, and came privately to Jerusalem, and entering into the temple, ‘learned the holy letters, and writ the incomprehensible name on a parchment; and first uttering the ‘name as a charm that he might not feel any pain, ‘he cut a gash in his flesh, and put into it the ‘parchment which contained the mysterious name; ‘and then immediately pronouncing the name again,

' the flesh was perfectly healed up as at first.——  
 ' As he came out, the brasen lions set up their roar,  
 ' and frightened the name quite out of his mind.  
 ' Upon which, he went immediately without the  
 ' city ; and, opening the flesh, took out the hidden  
 ' parchment, and by these means again learned the  
 ' powerful name. After this, he went into Bethlehem  
 ' of Judæa, the place of his nativity, and began to  
 ' cry with a loud voice, and say, &c. I am born of  
 ' a pure virgin, &c. I am the Son of God, and the  
 ' prophet Esaias prophesied of me, saying, *Behold*  
 ' *a virgin shall conceive, &c.* I made even myself;  
 ' and the heavens and the earth, the sea, and all  
 ' things, were made by me. Upon this, some ask  
 ' him, saying, Shew us by some sign or wonder that  
 ' thou art God. To whom he answered, saying,  
 ' Bring hither a dead body, and I will raise it to  
 ' life. With that, they fell to digging up a grave  
 ' with all expedition ; and finding nothing but dry  
 ' bones, they told him, We have found here only the  
 ' bones. Well, bring them here into the midst, says  
 ' he. And when they had brought them, he fitted  
 ' every bone to its place, covered them with skin  
 ' and flesh and nerves ; and the body became alive,  
 ' and arose, and stood on its feet : and the whole  
 ' company saw the wonder, and was amazed.——  
 ' Bring hither a leper, says he, and I will heal him.  
 ' And when they had brought one to him, he in like  
 ' manner healed him by the incomprehensible name :  
 ' which when they that were with him saw, they  
 ' fell down before him, and worshipped him, saying,  
 ' *Thou art indeed the Son of God.*'

With what amazing impudence and blasphemy  
 is this absurd fable related ! The whole libel is o

a piece with this, and a remarkable instance of rabbinical honesty and good sense; which should never be forgotten. The same libel continues thus:

‘ One of the wise men proposed to the rest, if it  
‘ may be thought fit, let one of us also learn the  
‘ name, and thereby be enabled to do these wonders  
‘ as well as he, and perhaps by these means we may  
‘ take him. The sanhedrim approved of the advice,  
‘ and decreed, that whosoever should learn the name,  
‘ and thereby discover and expose Jesus, he should  
‘ receive a double reward in the other world. Then  
‘ one of the wise men, whose name was Judas, stood  
‘ up, and said, I will learn it.’——And then they add  
the following story; ‘ Jesus said, Does not Esaias  
‘ prophesy of me? and my great forefather David  
‘ likewise says of me, *The Lord said unto my Lord,*  
‘ &c.; and again, *Thou art my Son, this day &c.*  
‘ And now I will ascend to my Father who is in  
‘ heaven, and I will sit at his right hand; and this  
‘ I will do before your faces, but thou, Judas, shalt  
‘ never come there. Then Jesus immediately pro-  
‘ nouncing the mighty name, a sudden wind arose  
‘ and carried him into the air, where he remained  
‘ between heaven and earth. Judas, in like manner  
‘ pronouncing the name, was also carried up, and  
‘ so they both flew about in the air, to the great  
‘ amazement of all the spectators. But Judas, again  
‘ pronouncing the name, falls on Jesus, designing  
‘ to cast him down headlong; while Jesus also  
‘ pronouncing the name, endeavoured to cast down  
‘ Judas, and thus they continued struggling together.  
‘ But when Judas saw he could not prevail against  
‘ Jesus, he urined, and sprinkled it upon him; by  
‘ which being rendered unclean, they both fell down

‘ to the earth together, and were deprived of the  
 ‘ power of the incomprehensible name, till they had  
 ‘ washed themselves.’

If you please, you may see more still of their non-sense, and intolerable blasphemous reflections on the blessed Jesus, collected by Vorstius in his observations on D. Ganz's Chronology, at p. 257, &c.

Though these writers do not always vomit out the same malice as when they treat this subject, yet they ever fall into the same deliriums of a rambling fancy, and scorn to be confined, so much as even to probability and decorum. I will make out this even from their Talmud itself, for which they have all so great a veneration. It is a medley, a hotchpotch of the most ridiculous and senseless fictions, and a vast collection of fooleries ; and you will see I do not wrong it, when you look over the following instances.

‘ y As the wise men were once sitting in the gate,  
 ‘ two lads passed by them ; one, according to the  
 ‘ custom, kept his head covered, but the other uncovered his head. Of him that had uncovered his  
 ‘ head, R. Eliezer said, he was a bastard. R. Joshua  
 ‘ said, he was the son of a woman set apart for  
 ‘ uncleanness. But R. Akiba said, he was both a  
 ‘ bastard and the son of an unclean woman. The  
 ‘ rest of the wise men say to R. Akiba, How comes  
 ‘ it to pass, that you contradict your companions?  
 ‘ He answered, I will confirm what I have said,  
 ‘ and presently goes to the mother of the lad, whom  
 ‘ he found in the market selling pulse ; he says  
 ‘ to her, Daughter, if you will satisfy me in the  
 ‘ thing I shall ask you, I will make you to enter

y Massechet Challa.

into eternal life<sup>a</sup>. Says she, Swear to me. Whereupon R. Akiba did swear with his lips, but not in his heart<sup>a</sup>, &c. And after this, he put the question to her, which she answered, proving the person to be illegitimate, &c.

Such tales as these, which the greatest rabbins so gravely employ themselves in, would not pass with old women and children in a winter evening. Besides, you may observe their integrity here; R. Akiba is represented swearing falsely, in contempt of the Decalogue, though at other times he is called *the glory of the law*<sup>b</sup>, and was so nicely conscientious of keeping the tradition of the elders, that when he was in prison, and wanted water to drink, he chose rather to wash his hands with what he had, than drink it to satisfy his thirst, saying, 'I had better die with thirst, than transgress the traditions of the elders.' And yet this zealot made nothing of perjury; which is all one as to say, the traditions of the elders are more to be regarded than the law of God.

And what arrogance and blasphemy is it for the vile wretch to assume to himself the power of admitting into heaven, and distributing rewards there, when this, we know, is solely the prerogative of the Eternal King? and blessed be his name that it is so!

The Talmudical treatise they call *Sanhedrim* has the following insipid passage: 'Our rabbins tell us, that Jesus had five disciples, Mathai, Nakai, Nezer,

<sup>a</sup> אני מביאך לחיי עולם

<sup>a</sup> ושבוע בשפתי וּמבטל בלבו

<sup>b</sup> Sota. כבוד התורה

<sup>c</sup> Joma. מוטב אמות מיתת עצמי ולא אעבור על דעת חברין

‘ Boni, and Thoda. When Mathai was brought into  
 ‘ court, he argued, Should Mathai be put to death,  
 ‘ seeing it is written (מתי Mathai), *When shall I*  
 ‘ *come and appear before God?* But they answered  
 ‘ him, Ought not Mathai to die, when it is written  
 ‘ (מתי Mathai), *When shall he die, and his name*  
 ‘ *perish?*

‘ Afterwards they brought in Nakai, and he  
 ‘ pleaded, Shall Nakai be put to death, though it  
 ‘ be written, *The innocent* (i. e. נקי) *and righteous*  
 ‘ *slay thou not?* But they answered him, Should  
 ‘ not Nakai die, when it is said, *In the secret places*  
 ‘ *doth he murder the innocent* (נקי).

‘ After him they brought in Nezer, who said,  
 ‘ Shall Nezer be put to death, when it is written  
 ‘ (נצר Nezer), *A branch shall grow out of his roots?*  
 ‘ To whom they answered, Shall not Nezer be put  
 ‘ to death, seeing it is written, *Thou art cast out of thy*  
 ‘ *grave like an abominable branch?*’ (i. e. in Hebrew,  
 נצר Nezer).

‘ Next they brought Boni, and he argued, Shall  
 ‘ Boni die, when it is said, *Israel is my son* (בני), *my*  
 ‘ *firstborn?* But they answered, Shall not Boni die,  
 ‘ when it is written, *I will slay thy son* (בנך), *even*  
 ‘ *thy firstborn,*

‘ Last of all they bring Thoda, who pleaded, Shall  
 ‘ Thoda be put to death, when it is written, *A psalm*  
 ‘ *of praise* (לתודה)? To which they answered, Shall  
 ‘ not Thoda be put to death, seeing it is written,  
 ‘ *Whoso offers praise* (or לתודה) *glorifies me?*’

In one place the Talmud says, ‘ There are three  
 ‘ watches in the night; in every one of which the  
 ‘ holy and ever-blessed one roars out for grief like  
 ‘ a lion, and says, Woe is me that I have made



‘ desolate my house, and burnt my temple, and that  
 ‘ I have made my children captive to the heathen <sup>d</sup>!’  
 Surely none but madmen would dare to make such  
 grossly wicked representations of the infinite ma-  
 jesty of God.

In the said tract the great God is a little after  
 described howling in the same manner again: some-  
 times he is represented praying; sometimes weep-  
 ing, &c. in this one book, called Berachoth, which  
 treats of prayer and thanksgiving. And for an essay  
 of their philosophy and divinity, let this suffice:  
 ‘ When God calls to mind the troubles of his chil-  
 ‘ dren among the Gentiles, it makes him drop two  
 ‘ tears into the ocean, the sound of which is heard  
 ‘ from one end of the world to the other; and this  
 ‘ is the cause of earthquakes<sup>e</sup>.’

I will transcribe one passage more concerning  
 God’s weeping, though it be pretty long, and very  
 foolish: but it shews how gross the understandings  
 of these men are. ‘ Just as the enemies went into  
 ‘ the sanctuary, and burnt it with fire, the blessed  
 ‘ God said, Now I shall have no habitation upon  
 ‘ earth, &c.——Then God mourned and lament-  
 ‘ ed, saying, Woe is me! what have I done? I did  
 ‘ suffer my Schechina to dwell in the world, because  
 ‘ of the Jews; but now they have sinned, and I am  
 ‘ returned to my ancient habitation, I shall become  
 ‘ the scorn of the nations, &c.——While he was

<sup>d</sup> Berachoth, fol. 3. a. שלש משמרות חיו הלילה ועל כל משמר  
 ומשמר יושב הקבה ושואג כארי ואומר אוי שהחרבתי את ביתי  
 ושרפתי את היכלי והגליתי את בני לבין אומות העולם.

<sup>e</sup> Berachoth, 61. a. בשעה שהקבה זוכר את בניו ששרויים בצער  
 בין אומות העולם מוריד שתי דמעות לים הגדול וקולם נשמע  
 מסוף העולם ועד סופו והינו גוהא.

‘breathing out his complaints, Metatron came, and  
 ‘prostrating himself on his face, cried, O thou Lord  
 ‘of the whole world, I will lament and mourn; but  
 ‘weep not thou. To whom the ever-blessed God  
 ‘made answer, If thou dost not allow me to weep  
 ‘here, I will give myself wholly up to my grief.  
 ‘——— God came down; his holy angels, and  
 ‘Jeremiah the prophet going before him: when he  
 ‘came to his temple, he said, This doubtless is my  
 ‘house, into which my enemies have entered, and  
 ‘have done what they pleased. Then he began  
 ‘to grieve and lament: Woe is me! that my house  
 ‘is destroyed. O my children! where are you? O  
 ‘my priests! where are you? O my friends! where  
 ‘are you? What shall I do for you? I warned you,  
 ‘but you would not repent. Then turning to Jere-  
 ‘miah, he said<sup>f</sup>,’ &c.

I believe you are sufficiently tired with this stuff;  
 but I must desire you to read one example or two  
 more, from the great abundance of which the Tal-  
 mud and Commentaries, &c. are made up. ‘God  
 ‘kissed our master Moses on the mouth; and when  
 ‘he perceived it took away his breath, and that he  
 ‘was dead, he fell a weeping<sup>g</sup>.’ The foundation  
 and origin of Rome is thus storied in the Talmud:  
 ‘At that time when Solomon married Pharaoh’s  
 ‘daughter, the angel Gabriel descended, and fixed a  
 ‘reed in the sea, which drew up the mud, upon  
 ‘which was built that great city Rome<sup>h</sup>.’ This

<sup>f</sup> In Echa Rabbati, fol. 55. b.

<sup>g</sup> Midrasch, Debarim Rabba, prope fin. [למשה נשקו הקב"ה]

רבינו] ונטל נשמתו בנשיקת פה והיה הקב"ה בוכה.

<sup>h</sup> Sanhedrim, fol. 21. b. בשעה שנשא שלמה את בת פרעה ירד ב. 21. גבריאל ונעץ קנה בים והעלה שירשון ועליו נבנה כרך גדול שברומי.

fable is more at large set down in the Midrasch Rabba Cantic. ch. i. ver. 6. Buxtorf has translated the place in his Talmudical Lexicon, at the word רמ, where he has also collected several other passages which relate to this matter, from the Talmuds and Midraschim: all which does most abundantly shew the great ignorance of these whimsical historians; and that they are no more to be relied on than the Popish Legends and Lives of their Saints.

Among other things which I am unwilling to pass by, is that strange story of R. Eliezer, which I will endeavour to abbreviate what I can. After Eliezer had done several strange things to prove the true tradition was in him, it follows, 'If I am possessed of the tradition,' says he, 'let the neighbouring river testify it. And immediately the river turned its current the contrary way<sup>1</sup>.' But his adversaries not being satisfied with this, he says again: 'If I hold the truth, then let the walls of this school bear witness of it: and immediately the walls began to lean as if they would fall. Upon which R. Joshua cried out, and said to the walls, If the disciples of the wise men dispute among themselves concerning tradition, what is that to you, that you begin to move? At this, in respect to Joshua, the walls were withheld from falling quite down: and in honour to Eliezer they remain leaning to this day.——R. Nathan, by chance, met with Elias, and asked him what God did at that time, when the rabbins were so hotly engaged concerning tradition? Elias answered, Why truly, he laughed, and said, My children have conquered me, my children have conquered me,' &c. Thus they approve

<sup>1</sup> Bava Metzia fol. 59. a.

themselves to be what our Saviour calls them, *blind guides, who lead the blind*, &c.

The magnified Pirké of R. Eliezer, which are adorned with the highest encomiums of *divine, holy*, &c., are in like manner nothing else but a collection of the same kind of ridiculous senseless stories as those which compose the Talmud. In one place, for instance, reckoning up seven miraculous things, the fourth is this: 'That from the creation, no man had ever been sick, but men were taken with a sudden sneezing, and so sneezed out their souls at their noses, till our father Jacob<sup>k</sup>,' &c.: and so all the rest of that admired treatise is nothing else but such like silly whimsies, raked together without any judgment or design.

Another thing I would observe to you, in order to shew how little the rabbins are to be trusted in any thing they say, is the great respect and veneration they express for their whimsical doctors, and all their traditions, which they publicly profess to follow, let them be ever so absurd. Thus R. Solomon Jarchi, on Deut. xvii. 11, determines that the wise men must be submitted to, even 'though they should say the right hand is the left, and the left the right<sup>l</sup>;' and therefore it is a law in the Talmud, that 'whosoever refuses to obey the wise men, shall be put to death<sup>m</sup>.' And the great Akiba, as it is noted above, was so zealous for this, that he chose rather to die of thirst, than not wash his hands according to the traditions of the elders, with that small portion of water which was allowed him

<sup>k</sup> Cap. 52.

<sup>l</sup> מפילו אומר לך על ימין שהוא שמאל ועל שמאל שהוא ימין

<sup>m</sup> Tractat. Erubim. fol. 21. b. כל העובר על דברי סופרים חייב

מיתה

in prison. And in the same place there is this sentence: 'Whosoever despises the words of the 'wise men shall be cast into hell<sup>a</sup>;' for according to R. Ezechiah, an author of great use and authority among the Jews, 'he that contradicts his teacher, does 'as bad as if he contradicted God himself<sup>o</sup>.'

Nor are they content with all this, but carry the matter to a more impious extreme, and even prefer the Talmud and the impertinences of their doctors before the Scriptures themselves. Therefore they compare the text of the Bible to water, but the text of the Talmud to wine<sup>p</sup>; intimating the Mischna does as much excel the Scriptures, as wine does water. And accordingly R. Schem Tof asserts, that 'nothing is greater than the most holy Talmud<sup>q</sup>.' And the Talmudists have the vanity (or impudence shall I say?) to assert that even 'God himself, of the 'twelve hours of the day, spends three in the study 'of the law, and all the other nine in studying the 'Talmud<sup>r</sup>.' To such an extravagant degree of phrensy and pride are these wise men arrived.

From the whole it appears, that the Talmud, &c., of the Jews are a sort of writings full of senseless, scandalous falsehoods, and therefore can be of no credit or authority at all.

2. In the second place it may not be amiss to say some things relating to the character of these rabbins.

<sup>a</sup> Erubim, fol. 21. b. שכל המלעיג על דברי חכמים נידון בצואה  
רותחת

<sup>o</sup> In Chaskuni, fol. 94. b. החולק על רבו כחולק על השכינה

<sup>p</sup> Tract. Sopherim, cap. 15.

<sup>q</sup> Mizbeach Hazzahab, cap. 5. התלמוד המקדש אין למעלה  
ממנו

<sup>r</sup> Tract. Schabbath.

From what I have already said, it is plain they have always been exceeding bigotted to their wise men, their Scribes and Pharisees; especially the members of their Sanhedrim, whose assertions they are ever ready to submit to with entire resignation and blind obedience; which has prepared them to receive the grossest absurdities and falsehoods, and to swallow all the dreams of the rabbins for unexceptionable truth and matter of fact.

And to this may be added their excessive pride and arrogance, for they think nobody has any sense but themselves. Thus R. Schimeon says, 'There are but few wise men; if there are two, it must be I and my son<sup>a</sup>.' Maimonides, without naming the place indeed, cites this from the Talmud<sup>t</sup>, Tract. Succah. fol. 45. b.

They were likewise much given to their cabalistical art, and that part of it they called *Gematria*, whereby they made words signify the same as any others they pleased to name, if the letters of one did but make the same number with the letters of the other; and they thought there was no need of any arguments but this numerical likeness to confirm the sense they gave a word: so because Gen. xi. 1. it is said the whole earth was of *one language*, in Hebrew, שפה אחת, which letters make the number 794, which by some mistake was taken to be the number of לשון הקדש<sup>u</sup> also; hence they would infer, that the text means that the whole earth spoke at that time the *holy language*, as it is called, viz. the Hebrew. And when Ahasuerus says to Haman,

<sup>a</sup> ואיתי בני עליה והם מועשי סא ששנים הם אני ובני הם

<sup>t</sup> Porta Mosis, p. 104.

<sup>u</sup> Chaskuni, ad Gen. xi. 1.

Esth. ch. 11. The king says to the people, *do with them as I have said to thee*; by the same rule they understand the king threatened him with the gallows he was afterwards hanged on because ~~Esth~~ makes just the same number as ~~Ps. vi 100~~ and by the same rule not a message in Scripture but may be made to say any thing and indeed a thousand different things together.

The Sanhedrin, which was composed of their greatest and best men, consisted of a parcel of magicians and fortune-tellers or conjurers; for the Talmud itself says expressly that a man is not received into that august assembly, unless he be well skilled in the black art, and speaks seventy 'languages' &c. a glorious qualification indeed for directors in religion!

Another charge I would lay against them is their corrupting and altering the sacred Scriptures themselves, out of which they have attempted to erase some passages that did not please them. I will but just give a quotation from St. Just : Martyr to this purpose, in his dispute with Trypho the Jew. He says thus : ‘ All those places of Scripture, which are manifestly contrary to their senseless conceits, they would evade by denying they are so written.’ And again a little after, ‘ As for your rabbins, I have no credit for them, who have the confidence to reject the translation made by the seventy elders, under Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, and so

1. Method of the study = qualitative

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המחלקה המרכזית לביטחון המדינה  
המחלקה המרכזית לביטחון המדינה

‘ themselves up for interpreters. And I would have  
 ‘ you understand, that they have wholly taken out  
 ‘ and disown many passages of Scripture which are  
 ‘ in this translation, from whence it is plainly proved  
 ‘ to have been foretold, that this crucified person was  
 ‘ both God and man, and that he should be crucified  
 ‘ and put to death<sup>2</sup>.’

Amongst other places thus perfidiously obliterated by them, he instances in Jer. xi. 19, *But I was like a lamb*, &c., which verse however he remarks was then remaining in some copies in their synagogues, and had been then but lately struck out of any; and I think it is in all the Hebrew copies, and other translations now extant, as well as in that of the Seventy.

3. I am sensible I have treated the rabbins pretty roughly; but am satisfied all I have said of them is exactly true: and since without blushing they offer such broad affronts to the common sense of all mankind, and venture to treat the divine Majesty both in the person of the Father and of the Son so blasphemously, they deserve no favour.

Besides, I am justified in this by the judgment and practice of all learned men.

Mr. Le Clerc, in this present case in dispute, expresses the doubtfulness and insufficiency of the

<sup>2</sup> Pag. 297. B. ‘ Ἄλλ’ οὐχὶ τοῖς διδασκάλοις ὑμῶν πείθομαι, μὴ συντεθειμένοις καλῶς ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν παρὰ Πτολεμαίῳ τῇ Αἰγυπτίῳ γενομένῳ βασιλεῖ ἐβδομήκοντα πρεσβυτέρων. Ἄλλ’ αὐτοὶ ἐξηγεῖσθαι πειρῶνται· καὶ ὅτι πολλὰς γραφὰς τέλεον περιεῖλον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξηγησίων τῶν γεγενημένων ὑπὸ τῶν παρὰ Πτολεμαίῳ γεγενημένων πρεσβυτέρων, ἐξ ὧν διαρρήδην οὗτος αὐτὸς ὁ σταυρωθεὶς, ὅτι Θεὸς, καὶ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ σταυρούμενος, καὶ ἀποθνήσκων κεκηρυγμένος ἀποδείκνυται, εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς βούλομαι. [Sect. 71.]



authority of the rabbins, by saying, ‘The Jews, if  
 ‘we may venture to believe the rabbins, received no  
 ‘proselytes but by baptism<sup>a</sup>,’ &c. More generally in  
 another place he says, ‘The Jews seem to claim the  
 ‘privilege of cashiering their reason, and advance  
 ‘without any shame all the foolish whimsies in the  
 ‘world: and would yet pass for men of very good  
 ‘sense<sup>b</sup>.’ And to the same purpose he frequently  
 speaks on other occasions.

Mons. du Pin, when he would give a treatise he  
 is speaking of, the worst character he can, says,  
 ‘It was writ by somebody who was wholly besotted  
 ‘with the dreaming enthusiasms of the rabbins and  
 ‘cabalists<sup>c</sup>.’ Mr. Dodwell, speaking of the use of the  
 Jewish writings, says, ‘Considering the fabulousness  
 ‘and suspiciousness of these rabbinical records in  
 ‘any thing historical, I should be much better  
 ‘satisfied with any information from those more  
 ‘certainly ancient authors, which are extant in other  
 ‘tongues, such as Philo and Josephus, &c., and  
 ‘indeed shall not credit the rabbins any further  
 ‘than as they agree with such better attested mo-  
 ‘numents, or with the nature of things attested by  
 ‘them<sup>d</sup>.’

Scaliger says of R. Ascher, who dwelt then at  
 Amsterdam, that ‘he was an ingenious man for a

<sup>a</sup> In Not. Gall. ad Matth. iii. 6. Les Juifs, si nous en croyons  
 les rabbins, ne recevoient, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Bibliothèque Choisie, tom. xiii. p. 405. C’est là un privilège  
 des Juifs, de ne faire presque aucun usage de leur raison, de débiter,  
 sans honte, toutes sortes de rêveries, et de passer néanmoins pour  
 habiles gens.

<sup>c</sup> Hist. Eccles. vol. i. p. 155. b.

<sup>d</sup> Letter of Advice, &c. i. p. 33.

‘Jew<sup>e</sup>.’ And a little after, ‘It is very seldom that a Jew, who turns Christian, is good for any thing; they are always bad<sup>f</sup>.’ Naclerus says of the Talmud, that ‘though it be full of the most palpable lies, and contrary to all the laws of God, the Scriptures, and the light of nature, yet it is enjoined under pain of death that no one presume to deny any one thing written therein<sup>g</sup>.’

I have the testimony also of two unexceptionable judges in this matter; I mean the great Buxtorf, and our own incomparable Lightfoot; than whom none ever better understood, nor were more universally acquainted with the rabbins and their writings.

Buxtorf, after he has mentioned all the fine things which can be said to recommend the use and study of the Talmud, adds these words: ‘Thus you see, reader, with what impudence and impiety this

\* Scaligerana, p. 218. Qui estoit honneste homme pour un Juif.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. p. 218, 219. Raro Judæus aliquis Christianus factus, fuit bonus, semper sunt nequam.

<sup>g</sup> Gener. 14. Licet plenus est inextricabilibus mendaciis, et contra omnem divinam legem, sacram Scripturæ sc. et naturæ legem conscriptus, sub pœna tamen capitis edictum est, nequis neget quicquam eorum quæ in eo dicuntur. [This quotation out of Naclerus must have been taken somewhere at second-hand. The author’s own words at this place (loosely) cited are: ‘Circa hæc tempora [A.D. 400.] componitur Thalmud Judæorum, id est Judaica doctrina, a duobus Rabinis, s. Rabina et Rabase; liber major decem bibliis, in quo sunt inextricabilia mendacia contra omnem legem divinam, naturæ, ac Scripturam. Videntes enim legem suam in dies deficere, et fidem Christianam proficere in toto orbe, hos duos instigarunt rabbinos, prohibentes, sub pœna mortis, nequis aliquid negaret de his quæ in eo continentur. See Jo. Naucleri Chronica, fol. *Colonia*, 1579. vol. ii. Generat. 14. p. 553.]

obstinate and blind people extol and magnify their Talmud, and the authors of it: and can it seem strange that these neglect the law of God, to follow the traditions of their fathers<sup>b</sup>?

But Dr. Lightfoot's words are, if possible, fuller yet than any, and may serve for a compendium of all I have been hitherto saying. 'There are some,' says the doctor, 'who believe the holy Bible was pointed by the wise men of Tiberias. I do not wonder at the impudence of the Jews who invented the story; but I wonder at the credulity of Christians who applaud it. Recollect, I beseech you, the names of the rabbins of Tiberias, from the first situation of the university there, to the time that it expired; and what, at length, do you find, but a kind of men mad with Pharisaism, bewitching with traditions, and bewitched, blind, guileful, doting, they must pardon me if I say, magical and monstrous? Men, how unfit, how unable, how foolish, for the undertaking so divine a work! Read over the Jerusalem Talmud, and see there how R. Judah, R. Chaninah, &c., and the rest of the grand doctors among the rabbins of Tiberias behave themselves; how earnestly they do nothing; how childishly they handle serious matters; how much of sophistry, froth, poison, smoke, nothing at all, there is in their disputes! And if you can believe the Bible was pointed in such a school, believe also all that the Talmudists write<sup>i</sup>.'

<sup>b</sup> Abbreviat. &c. p. 241. Vides, lector, obstinatissimæ et bcæcatissimæ gentis, de suo Talmud et ejus compilatoribus, impudentissima et impia elogia. An ergo mirum, quod Dei verbum reliquerunt, et patrum traditiones secuti sunt?

<sup>i</sup> Vol. ii. p. 73.

4. But above all, this appears from the divine authority of the Son of God himself, and his disciples; who often give us the worst character of the rabbins and governors of the Jews that it is possible to conceive. St. John calls the Pharisees, &c., that came to his baptism, *a generation of vipers*, Matt. iii. 7, and our Lord himself says of them, chap. xii. 34, *O generation of vipers, how can ye, being evil, speak good things?* and detects several of their enormities in the woes he pronounces against them, Matt. xxiii. and chap. xxi. 31. which represents them to be worse than the most profligate part of mankind, and such whose testimony would signify nothing in any case.

The protomartyr Stephen, Acts vii. 51, speaking to them, says, *Ye stiffnecked—ye do always resist the Holy Ghost, &c.* But not to multiply instances of this nature, which every body is well acquainted with, I will add but one more, which reaches expressly the thing in dispute, and proves their traditions concerning washings made void the law. Mark vii. 8, &c. *Laying aside the commandment of God, ye hold the tradition of men, as the washing of pots and cups; and many other such like things ye do. And he said unto them, Full well ye reject the commandments of God, that ye may keep your own tradition.—Making the word of God of none effect through your tradition, which ye have delivered.* And our Lord concludes his censure with these words, *They be blind leaders of the blind*, Matt. xv. 14. All which, if there be any thing sacred and awful, and that deserves our most serious regard, in our Saviour's words, must at least signify, that they are a dangerous sort of men, and rather to be shunned than followed: for he has expressly commanded us to *beware of their leaven*.

Since then the Jews and their writings are so much to be distrusted, and are so scandalous and fallacious; can what they say be called with any prudence, ‘the true basis of infant-baptism<sup>k</sup>!’ To conclude: what is built upon this basis is a rabbinical tradition, and one of those washings which our Lord condemns; but not a Christian baptism.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

<sup>k</sup> Dr. Hammond's Six Queries, page 195. margin.

## LETTER X.

ARRIAN, from whom Mr. Wall next argues, too late to determine the matter—He may perhaps only speak of the purifications for pollutions—The Pagans frequently confounded the Jews and Christians together, as appears from Themistius; from Arrian himself; from Lucian; from Tacitus; from Suetonius—And Rigaltius understands Arrian's words so too—As do also Petavius, Lipsius, and Barthius—Mr. Wall's argument from Gregory Nazianzen, examined—This Father lived too late to determine our dispute; and does not speak of an initiatory baptism—The Scripture makes no mention of any initiatory baptism in use among the Jews—Exod. xix. 10. makes nothing to the purpose—Maimonides, his rule of interpretation false—The rabbins very bad interpreters—*Sanctify* does not necessarily imply washing—Nothing in the words which so much as intimates the body was to be washed—There is no mention of an initiatory baptism in any authentic ancient history; even though they had the fairest occasions, and ought not to have omitted it, if there had been any such usage—This illustrated by some instances from Josephus and Ganz—It is on many accounts very improbable that the Jews had any such ceremony—Proved from St. Paul's words; from Gregory Nazianzen; from St. Peter—Several authors of reputation, and especially the ancients, do in effect deny they knew of any initiatory baptism among the Jews—Thus St. Barnabas, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Origen, St. Cyril of Jerusalem—Many writers say our baptism came instead (not of baptism among the Jews, but) of sacrifices; as the recognitions—Or of the washings for pollutions, as the Apostolical Constitutions pretend—And Mr. Hill speaks to this purpose—Others more commonly say, it succeeds in the place of circumcision—The conclusion from these observations—Though the Jews could be proved to have baptized their proselytes, this does no service to that cause of pædobaptism.—For, 1. It does not appear that infants were so admitted.—2. If the Jews had such a baptism as is pretended, it is no rule to Christians; otherwise the Socinians, &c., have a good handle to lay aside the use of baptism—And there is no manner of

analogy between the pretended Jewish, and the Christian pædobaptism—3. We need only go back to the baptism of St. John; which there is more reason to think was the pattern of Christ's, than a Jewish ceremony—St. John, Christ, and his apostles, baptized no infants—A passage of Josephus to this purpose—Another from Origen—Another of St. Paul—4. At best this supposed baptism of the Jews is only a traditionary ceremony from the rabbins—Their quoting texts for it no proof of its divine institution—The rabbins do not pretend to find an initiatory baptism in the Scriptures; but confess it is only a tradition of their elders—This proved from the words of the Talmud—Which are explained by some rules of Maimonides—Exod. xix. 10. cited only by way of accommodation—It is therefore great presumption to draw a rabbinical tradition into a precedent for the Christian church—These things applied to the present dispute—The Conclusion.

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SIR,

HAVING shewn that the citations from the Jewish writers prove nothing at all, and do our adversaries no service; I proceed now to Mr. Wall's other arguments, which are brought to prove, that the Jews before, and at our Saviour's time, were wont to initiate proselytes and their children by baptism.

He insists upon some words of Arrian, the philosopher of Nicomedia.

1. But first, this philosopher lived not till about one hundred and fifty years after Christ<sup>a</sup>, and therefore at best will not prove that custom to have been more ancient; for he only speaks of his own time, without any reference to the past.

2. Or secondly, he may, for what appears to the contrary, allude not to any initiatory washing, but

<sup>a</sup> Euseb. Chron. p. 213.

to the frequent purifications for legal pollutions; and the *hemerobaptistæ*, or, as Justin Martyr<sup>b</sup> calls them, the βαπτισταί, have their denomination from this, and from their teaching, says the Renunciation cited by Cotelierius, 'That no man could be saved 'unless he was washed daily';' and not because they were daily initiated. And Eusebius<sup>d</sup> tells us, from Hegesippus, that one sect of the Jews, who were very zealous for these washings, were called peculiarly by his name. It may seem more probable too that Arrian alludes to this sect, and these washings; if we call to mind that rule of the Talmud mentioned by Dr. Lightfoot, if I remember well, 'That a woman baptized or washed, though for 'uncleanness only, does nevertheless thereby become a complete proselytess or Jewess<sup>e</sup>.' The Talmud itself therefore determines, that washing for uncleanness does constitute a complete Jew; which is the utmost that Arrian says, and therefore it is not necessary to understand him of any other washing. But,

3. It was common for the Pagan writers to confound the Jews and Christians together; for Christ himself and his apostles being Jews by birth, and sent primarily to preach to that people, and the first churches consisting of Jews for the most part, the heathen, who were not well enough acquainted with these things, might easily suppose the Christians were only a sect of the Jews, that made a separation from

<sup>b</sup> Dialog. cum Tryph. p. 307. [sect. 80. edit. Benedict.]

<sup>c</sup> Codic. Regio 1818. ad Recognit. Clement. p. 499. b. Μη δύνασθαι ἄνθρωπον σωθῆναι, ἐὰν μὴ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν βαπτίζεται.

<sup>d</sup> Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. cap. 22.

<sup>e</sup> Jebamoth. fol. 45. b.



their ancient governors upon account of some particular opinions among themselves. Festus plainly takes it so when he tells king Agrippa, that Paul's accusers had only *certain questions against him of their own superstition, and of one Jesus which was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive*, Acts xxv. 19. And elsewhere in the Scriptures the apostles are often spoken of as Jews; nay, sometimes the Christians are argued to be Jews, in the best and truest sense; *He is not a Jew which is one outwardly, &c., but he is a Jew which is one inwardly*, Rom. ii. 28. *And if ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, &c.* Gal. iii. 29.

This is apparent also from many passages in the Greek and Latin authors. Themistius, citing some words from the Old Testament, calls it, 'the Law of the Assyrians<sup>f</sup>;' and in several other places he gives it the same name<sup>g</sup>. And somewhere, as Petavius notes<sup>h</sup>, he calls it Syrian, which will be construed nothing less than calling the Jews, Assyrians and Syrians, from the country they dwelt in; and yet, at another time, by Syrians, he means the Christians, namely, in his Oration to the Emperor Jovian, where he extols the emperor's generosity and justice in permitting every one to follow what religion he thought best. 'For,' says he, 'the Syrians perform divine worship in one manner, the Greeks in another, and the Ægyptians in a way different from both: nay, and the Syrians themselves do not agree in all things; no one believes exactly as his neighbour, but this believes one thing, and that

<sup>f</sup> Orat. v. p. 141. Λόγῳ τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ, &c.

<sup>g</sup> Orat. vii. Init. et Orat. ix. p. 201.

<sup>h</sup> Ad Orat. xii. p. 635.

‘another<sup>i</sup>,’ &c. Here he manifestly has his eye upon the quarrels and disputes which then disturbed the Church of Christ, and made too great a noise not to be observed by the enemies of our holy profession; especially by so great a man as Themistius, who artfully improves this opportunity to insinuate how very uncertain the Christians were in their belief, thereby to possess the emperor with an ill opinion of them, to whom he was known to be very much inclined.

Thus Themistius, then, by the same word *Syrians*, means both Jews and Christians, whom he does not sufficiently distinguish from one another: for the Christians as well as the Jews appeared first in Syria, and about those parts of Asia, which were generally counted the chief nursery of that religion: and therefore Lucian says, ‘From the several cities in Asia, came some who were sent from the public body of the Christians<sup>k</sup>,’ &c. And it is very probable this may be one occasion of their confounding Christians and Jews together: therefore Le Prieur says, ‘Every body knows that the church was at first gathered at Jerusalem, and consisted of Jews; and from hence it is that in profane writers you hardly find any difference made between Jews and Christians<sup>l</sup>.’

Galilee, the Upper and the Lower, was mostly inhabited by Jews, at least one part of it entirely, together with a large portion of the other called Galilee of the Gentiles, Matt. iv. 15, of which Strabo is understood to say, ‘That it was inhabited by a

<sup>i</sup> Page 282. “Ἄλλως Σύρους ἐθέλει πολιτεύεσθαι, ἄλλως Ἑλλήνας, ἄλλως Αἰγυπτίους· καὶ οὐδ’ αὐτοὺς Σύρους ὁμοίως, ἀλλ’ ἤδη κατακερματίζονται εἰς μικρά· εἰς γὰρ οὐδεὶς τῷ πέλας τὰ αὐτὰ ὑπείληφεν ἀκριβοῦς, ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν, τοδὶ, ὁ δὲ, τοδὶ. [Orat. xii. prope f.]

<sup>k</sup> De Morte Peregrin. p. 567.

<sup>l</sup> In Tertullian.

mixture of Egyptians, Arabians, and Phenicians<sup>m</sup>. Galileans therefore could at first mean only Jews of Galilee, or Galilean Jews; and accordingly St. Peter is by his speech discovered to be a Galilean, Mark xiv. 70, that is, a native Jew of Galilee: and so in that known blasphemy of Julian the apostate, when dying he cried out, 'Galilean, thou hast conquered me'; it is the same thing as if he had said, 'Thou Galilean Jew;' for he means Christ, who was a Jew, and dwelt in Nazareth in Galilee. For in these and such like places, the name seems to signify one sort of the Jews in particular, as if they were something different from others who were not of that country.

I know these words may sometimes be only used to express the country: as a Greek may mean one born or bred in Greece; a Roman, a freeman of Rome: and a Turk one born in Turkey. But if they have any reference to the religion or profession, or some quality and disposition of a person; then they always mean that religious &c. which was most famous in that place at the time: and thus a Chaldean signifies in *assurum* a wild Arab, a robber; and a Greek in *grecum* a one that practised the idolatry of Greece and the worst *grecum* with us, an insatiable *grecum* was the *grecum* in hand, does not always signify one born in Greece, or of Greek parents but one who practices a *grecum* according to the law of the *grecum*, such *grecum* a *grecum* Mr. Wall gives: a *grecum* of *grecum*, and a

<sup>m</sup> *Assurum* is a word of the same signification.

<sup>n</sup> *Grecum* is a word of the same signification.

<sup>o</sup> *Assurum*

does Galilæan often signify that particular sort of the Jews. Thus St. Paul, though born at Tarsus in Cilicia, and educated at Jerusalem, and consequently no Galilæan by birth or habitation, is notwithstanding called a Galilæan by Lucian<sup>o</sup>; signifying, that he was a Jew of the sect who had embraced the new doctrines of Christianity; Galilæans comprehending originally none but the Jews, for they only of that country adhered to Jesus.

But then it is wrong, and a confounding of matters, to call the Christians in general by that name, which should be attributed to none but Jews: Arrian therefore, whom Mr. Wall argues from in this case, has committed this mistake, when he says, ‘that through a mad sort of humour, and the ‘prevalency of a custom among them, the Galilæans ‘have learnt to despise the power and severity of ‘magistrates<sup>p</sup>.’ By Galilæans here, he cannot be understood to mean any but the Christians, whose courage and firmness of mind in persecution was very well known to their adversaries, and was falsely ascribed by them to perverseness and obstinacy. As you may see the emperor Marcus Antoninus censures them, when representing a mind duly prepared to live or die in whatever manner one may be called to it, he says, ‘This indifference, or willingness to submit to one’s lot, should spring from ‘a discreet and well-weighed judgment of things; ‘not as it is with the Christians, from stubbornness, ‘but from serious consideration, and a serenity of

<sup>o</sup> Philopatr. p. 770.

<sup>p</sup> In Epictet. lib. iv. cap. 7. p. 400. Εἴτα ὑπὸ μανίας μὲν δίδουσι  
τις οὕτω διατεθῆναι πρὸς ταῦτα, καὶ ὑπὸ ἔθους οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι.

mixture of Egyptians, Arabians, and Phœnicians<sup>m</sup>. Galilæans therefore could at first mean only Jews of Galilee, or Galilæan Jews; and accordingly St. Peter by his speech discovered to be a Galilæan, Mark iv. 70, that is, a native Jew of Galilee: and so in that known blasphemy of Julian the apostate, when lying he cried out, 'Galilæan, thou hast conquered me<sup>n</sup>;' it is the same thing as if he had said, 'Thou Galilæan Jew;' for he means Christ, who was a Jew, and dwelt in Nazareth in Galilee. For in these and such like places, the name seems to signify one sort of the Jews in particular, as if they were something different from others who were not of that country.

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<sup>m</sup> Geograph. lib. xvi. p. 1103.

<sup>n</sup> Theodor. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 25. fol. 320. Νεβίηρας Ἰαλιλαίς.

first principles, they are taught 'to despise and 'slight their parents and children, and brethren;' it is very probable he alludes to that passage of our Saviour, *If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters—he cannot be my disciple*, Luke xiv. 26.

But the common instance cited from Suetonius, is, if possible, more plain. 'Claudius,' says he, 'expelled the Jews out of Rome, upon account of the 'continual disturbances they made there, by the 'instigation of Christ'. But Christ was the leader and head of the Christians only, and not of the Jews. Suetonius therefore, when he said Jews, meant, or at least included the Christians. And so likewise in the passage Mr. Wall, and before him Dr. Hammond, cites from Arrian, that philosopher may refer only to the Christians, notwithstanding he calls them Jews. Rigaltius, without any manner of hesitation, understands him so: 'Even the Stoics,' says he, 'knew that the faithful,' that is, the Christians, 'were made such completely by their baptism. For thus Arrian expressly says<sup>u</sup>, &c., and here he transcribes the very words. The learned Petavius is also of this opinion<sup>x</sup>. Lipsius takes the place in the same sense, and compares it with the words of Suetonius above cited; and says, 'For who

<sup>t</sup> In Claud. cap. 25. Judæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit.

<sup>u</sup> In Tertul. de Baptismo, p. 229. lit. g. Fideles perfici baptismo, sciebant etiam Stoici. Sic enim disertissime Arrianus Epict. ii. 9, &c.

<sup>x</sup> Not. in Themist. Orat. xii. p. 635.

‘were baptized but the Christians?’ And Barthius says upon it, ‘Baptism was not the distinguishing sign of a *Jew*, but of a *Christian*’.

And it is certain, that supposing the Jews did baptize, yet circumcision was the great badge of a Jew; and so necessary, that they are often called from it in Scripture *the circumcision*, emphatically. Arrian therefore could not be well understood to say, the proselytes became complete Jews by being baptized, since circumcision was the more known and essential ceremony with them. Petavius<sup>a</sup> indeed imagines the passage in Arrian is corrupted, and that instead of ἡρημένου, we should read περιηρημένου; and so makes the place speak of baptism and circumcision too. But the criticism is too bold and licentious, without the authority of any copy, and grounded only on Petavius’ fancy; and therefore I see no reason to admit it. But if by Jews he meant converts to Christianity, who at first were chiefly Jews, the expression is well enough, for they were always received into the body of Christians by baptism: and not before, but after this ceremony, they were accounted complete Christians; which is all very suitable to Arrian’s words: ‘that after baptism, and the public profession, they were accounted, and really were true Jews, or rather Christians’<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>y</sup> Ad Annal. Tacit. lib. xv.

<sup>z</sup> Ad Rutilii Itinerarium. Sane Judæi signaculum non erat baptizatum esse, sed Christiani.

<sup>a</sup> Not. ad Themist. Orat. xii. p. 635. [See the notes of various editors on the passage, collected by Schweighæuser, in vol. ii. of his edition of Epictetus.]

<sup>b</sup> Epictet. Dissert. lib. ii. cap. 9. Ὅταν δ’ ἀναλάβῃ τὸ πάθος τὸ τοῦ βεβαμμένου καὶ ἡρημένου, τότε καὶ ἔστι τῷ ὄντι καὶ καλεῖται Ἰουδαῖος.

And if this be the sense of the passage, then **Ar** does not prove what our adversaries cite him for.

The next argument Mr. Wall recurs to, in or to establish the true 'basis of infant-baptism,' is a passage in Gregory Nazianzen: where that Father undertakes to reckon up all the various sorts of baptism he knew of, and considers the reasons for them. 'Moses baptized, but that was in water on the earth; And before that in the cloud, and in the sea. I know that this was all typical, as also St. Paul understands it. The sea typified *the water*; the cloud *the Spirit*; the manna in the wilderness signified *bread of life*; and the water they there drank, *divine cup*. John also baptized, yet not in water, but barely as the Jews did, but likewise to represent repentance;' &c. In the following words he adds to the baptism of Christ, the baptism of the Spirit, and the baptism of blood. But this part I need not transcribe, because Mr. Wall grounds his argument on the first words only; which, he thinks, prove that the Jews did undoubtedly initiate their proselytes by baptism, since they themselves were also at first so initiated.

But here I must first make the common remark, which affects all Mr. Wall's arguments, namely, that the authority he uses is of much too late date: for St. Gregory lived but about the latter end of the fourth century, which is not early enough to give an infallible certainty of what was done at Christ's time, and much less in that of Moses. Besides, St. Gregory does not speak of an initiation by baptism, but only of the legal washings for

<sup>c</sup> Orat. xxxix. p. 634. Ἐβάπτισαι Μωϋσῆς τούτου ἐν νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐν θαλάσῃ. τοιαύτης δοκεῖ ἡ θάλασσα τοῦ ὕδατος, &c.





has said nothing which rises to any probable proof, that this 'main basis of infant baptism' is true. For I leave you to judge whether every pretence to this has not been sufficiently refuted.

To prove negatives is always difficult, and sometimes impossible; and therefore I might be excused from any farther trouble on this head. However, since it may be of use to confirm my notion of this matter, I will endeavour to make out, as far as it shall seem needful, these following observations:

1. I observe the Scripture makes no mention of any such baptism; and yet one cannot tell how to think it should be silent, if either God had appointed the practice, or if it had been used on any other foundation before those sacred books were written: for frequent occasions would have offered to take notice of this, as well as of several other institutions of God, or traditions of their elders; and without doubt it would have been touched on, had there been any such thing in use. Mr. Wall, I know, puts us in mind, that the rabbins cite Exod. xix. 10, to prove that the Jews themselves were initiated, upon the giving of the law, by baptism.

But in answer to this it may be noted, that they did not by this washing enter into covenant with God, for that they had done before by circumcision, which was the seal of the covenant; and therefore the washing here mentioned was no more an initiatory baptism, than the washings of the priests and Levites, preparatory to their several ministrations, and those appointed for pollutions, which all persons were strictly to perform, before they entered the congregation of the Lord to worship. The sanctification and washing therefore, mentioned in the

words referred to, seem to mean only such kind of purification as was common in all cases of approaching to God, and was to be repeated as often as such approaches were made. Though indeed something extraordinary might be enjoined on this uncommon and wonderful appearance of God, in such amazing majesty and glory.

That the purification was of this nature only, may seem more probable, if we observe, that one part of it was to consist in their *not coming at their wives*, verse 15, and the eastern nations always thought this polluted, and rendered them unfit to enter the temple, as Herodotus<sup>d</sup>, Strabo<sup>e</sup>, &c., assure us. And Ahimelech, when David required the shew-bread of him, makes this condition, that *the young men have kept themselves at least from women*, 1 Sam. xxi. 4. And more generally it appears from Gen. xxxv. 2, that this was but a purification necessary in order to perform any religious worship; for Jacob, being about to build an altar to the Lord, orders all his household to *be clean, and change their garments*: which is exactly the same thing with that expressed, Exod. xix. 10. Of the same nature likewise is that obligation laid on the Israelites by Moses and Eleazar, after their destroying the Midianites, that *whosoever hath killed any person, and whosoever hath touched any slain*, should *purify* themselves, &c., and *ye shall wash your clothes on the seventh day, and ye shall be clean*, Numb. xxxi. 19, 24. And so Joshua, ch. iii. 5, commands the Israelites to sanctify themselves, that is, according to Mr. Wall's notion of the word, to wash themselves, *for to-morrow the Lord will do*

<sup>d</sup> Lib. ii. p. 71.

<sup>e</sup> Lib. xvi. p. 1081.

*wonders among you*; which implies these sanctifications were usual in such extraordinary cases. And thus among the heathens, those who came to consult the oracle of Trophonius were to wash themselves in the river Hercyna<sup>f</sup>. And the priests at Delphos washed themselves before they went to the temple <sup>g</sup>.

So that we see this is only a common purification, always used to qualify persons to appear before God; and therefore Mr. Wall, or the rabbins he cites, have no reason to pretend, the sanctification and washing mentioned Exod. xix. 10, signifies any thing else.

But besides all this, I do not perceive the necessity of supposing the words respect the washing of the body, which is neither expressed nor implied. As to the authority of the rabbins, who, our author informs us from Selden, do generally favour his fancy, I have already shewn they are not to be depended on. The rule Maimonides has accommodated our author with, 'That wheresoever in the law the washing of the body or garments is mentioned, it means still the washing of the whole body,' I think serves but to manifest the confidence of the rabbins, and our author's credulity. For, without inquiring into the reason of the rule, Mr. Wall takes it solely upon trust, as a maxim of interpretation. But why should the rules, which the rabbins arbitrarily lay down, be urged in opposition to the plain letter and propriety of the original text?

The most that can be said for these interpreters in the present case is, that they must be supposed

<sup>f</sup> Pausan. lib. xix. p. 603.

<sup>g</sup> Eurip. in Jove,

to understand the idiom and phrases of the Hebrew tongue, and therefore may be qualified, by their observations and knowledge of that kind, to direct us in finding out the sense of the Old Testament. But the vanity of this argument in their favour appears by what I have said above. And our great English rabbin, Dr. Lightfoot, was so far from entertaining such an opinion of them, that he judged them unfit to point the Bible<sup>h</sup>, much more to make standing rules for the interpretation of it. Without having any regard therefore to these guides, it may easily be proved, that there is nothing which does import the washing of the body. For,

1. קדשתו is only a general word, enjoining something to be done through the whole term of the time mentioned; and therefore Munster and Vatablus, two great judges, besides others, say, it signifies here *to prepare*, as the Targums of Onkelos and Ben Uziel likewise appear to have understood it, by rendering it תזמננו. And why should it mean *to wash* here, any more than in Levit. xxi. 23, or xx. 7, where God commands, *Sanctify yourselves therefore, and be ye holy, &c.*? Nay, if it should be allowed to signify the Israelites were to sanctify themselves on this great occasion by all the ways in general which they at any time used, and consequently by bathing for pollutions, yet what has this to do with a standing initiatory baptism? And why must a command, on so singular and extraordinary an occasion, be drawn into a precedent, and made a rule for ordinary cases? But,

2. Neither does this washing seem to be intended; because, though there is particular mention of wash-

<sup>h</sup> [See above, page 371.]

ing their clothes, there is none of washing their bodies too; and yet no man can imagine why either should be particularly mentioned, if both had been included in the word *to sanctify*; nor if neither were comprehended in the word, that the washing of the body was meant, though the washing of the garments only is expressed. For, whence should they gather this? The word in the Hebrew for *wash*, is only proper to washing of clothes, to which it is applied, and cannot be used to signify the washing of the body. The washing of the body cannot be included under washing of the clothes, because these are not only two very different things, but are also as distinctly and particularly expressed, when both are intended. Thus, Levit. xv. 5, *Whosoever toucheth his bed shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, &c.* And again, ver. 13, *He shall number to himself seven days for his cleansing, and wash his clothes, and bathe his flesh in running water, &c.* And Levit. xiv. 8, it is said very distinctly, as of things independent of one another, *He that is to be cleansed shall wash his clothes, and shave off all his hair, and wash himself, &c.,* and so very frequently elsewhere.

If the rule of Maimonides, that the washing of the garments means the washing of the body too, were good, then the washing of the body would not be so particularly expressed; whereas you see, sir, that always when the washing of the body is intended, it is as plainly expressed, and that by a different word too, viz. רָחַץ; and that even in conjunction with that other washing of the clothes which is signified by כָּבַס. This is all I think firm my first observation, viz.

makes no mention of any baptism whereby the Jews and their proselytes were initiated.

2. In the next place I observe, that there is no instance or mention of this baptism, in any other authentic ancient history. I must take this for granted, till such an one is produced; and that it has not yet been done, is a great presumption that none can be found. Nay, it may be proved as well as a negative can be, that there was no such practice; because in the accounts of the proselytism of some, when the historians had the fairest occasion in the world to take notice of it, they have mentioned circumcision, without so much as glancing at this pretended baptism. Thus Josephus informs us, that Hyrcanus, after having subdued the Idumæans, made and initiated them Jews by circumcision only; for had any thing else been as necessary, Hyrcanus would have performed it, and the judicious historian would not have forgot to mention it; but since he has not left the least intimation of it, I reckon we have the double authority, viz. of Hyrcanus who was high priest, and of Josephus, on our side. The historian's own words run thus: 'Hyrcanus also took Adora and Marissa; and having subdued all Idumæa, he gave the inhabitants leave to continue in that country, on condition they would be circumcised, and observe the laws and customs of the Jews. They, therefore, unwilling to be expelled their native country, received circumcision, and led their lives according to the manner of the Jews<sup>1</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> Antiquit. Judaic. lib. xiii. c. 17. p. 450. E. Ὑρκανὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας αἰρεῖ πόλεις Ἀδωρα, καὶ Μάρισσαν. καὶ ἅπαντας τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους ὑποχειρίους ποιησάμενος, ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς μένειν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, εἰ περιτέμνουν τε τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις νόμοις χρῆσθαι θέλοιεν. οἱ δὲ

And in another place he tells us, that Aristobulus, son of the above-named Hyrcanus, caused the Ituræans to be made proselytes by circumcision, and says nothing of baptism. ‘He obliged them that would stay in the land to be circumcised, and live according to the laws and customs of the Jews<sup>k</sup>.’ And Philo, another considerable author, is in like manner wholly silent of this baptism. To be sure, if there had been any thing in these or such like authors, we should have heard of it over and over; but their silence, even when they are professedly giving an account of the customs and antiquities of the Jews, is a very weighty consideration, and ought to go a great way toward demonstrating, that no such thing either was, or ought to be practised.

An instance of this nature I remember likewise in Ganz, one of the best historians among the rabbins: at the year 3670, he says, ‘Many great and powerful cities became the allies of Alexander, the brother of Aristobulus, and were circumcised:’ and never mentions any other part of the initiation.

3. But thirdly, I observe, that what our adversaries pretend, is very improbable, upon several other accounts. For instance, when St. Paul says, the *Israelites were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud, and in the sea*; he seems very plainly to intimate, there was no other baptizing unto Moses but this: why else should he call this the baptizing

πόθρ τῆς πατρίου γῆς καὶ τὴν περιτομὴν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τοῦ βίου διαίταν ὑπέμειναν τὴν αὐτὴν Ἰουδαίους ποιήσασθαι. [Cap. ix. sect. 1. edit. Hudson.]

<sup>k</sup> Antiquitat. Judaic. lib. xiii. cap. 19. p. 455. C. Ἀναγκάσας τε τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας εἰ βούλονται μένειν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ περιτέμνεσθαι, καὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς Ἰουδαίων νόμους ζῆν. [Cap. xi. sect. 3. edit. Hudson.]



unto Moses? It would have been much more natural to refer to that more familiar initiatory baptism which our adversaries plead for, if the apostles had known of it, than to this figurative one. And then to make this parallel to our baptism, is very improper, if they had used another which resembled ours. The fathers of the Jews, then, were baptized unto Moses; but how? If you will believe the apostle, by being *baptized in the cloud, and in the sea*. This was their baptism unto Moses, St. Paul says; and can our adversaries venture to say, This was not their baptism, but another?

Gregory Nazianzen, in the very passage cited by Mr. Wall, which I transcribed above something more largely than he had done, without taking notice of any other baptism from whence ours was derived, or to which it might be compared, only shews how this, mentioned by the apostle as the type, might be explained, in these words, *the sea typified the water, the cloud the Spirit*. Now, his noting no such likeness in any other Jewish baptism, makes the passage an argument rather against Mr. Wall; and implies, that he thought this baptism alone corresponded with ours.

In another place, the apostle Peter makes our baptism to be the antitype of *the ark in which few were saved by water*; for so we likewise are saved by the water of baptism. But is it not strange the sacred writers should point out these allusions, and yet never in the least hint at the ancient ceremony from whence our baptism, it is pretended, was immediately borrowed? Nothing surely can look more improbable.

4. Several authors of reputation, especially the

ancients, do in effect deny they knew of any initiatory baptism among the Jews, which was the original of ours. This observation is grounded on abundance of passages.

The apostle Barnabas, in that catholic epistle, (if indeed it be his,) whereof we have the greatest part still remaining in the original, though he is wholly employed about the Jewish rites, &c., has not one word concerning the baptism our pædobaptists contend for; which being the same as to externals with one of our holy sacraments, could not, had this holy man known it, have been passed by at such a time. Nay more, in one place he applies himself to find out some preludes of our Christian baptism; and yet even there, where it would have been so natural and necessary, we meet with no footsteps of it. 'Let us see,' says he, 'whether God took care to manifest any thing beforehand concerning water and the cross<sup>k</sup>.' Who would not expect here to have that baptism itself mentioned which was the forerunner and type of ours, and from whence it was immediately taken, if there had been any such? As a type of the cross, he mentions the brasen serpent in the wilderness; and does not forget the posture in which Moses stood when the Israelites and Amalekites were engaged, *Exod. xvii. 8, &c.* *When he let down his hands the Amalekites prevailed, and when he held up his hands Israel prevailed*, verse 11; which was to signify, says St. Barnabas, 'that except they trust in him, they cannot be saved<sup>l</sup>.' I think it cannot be

<sup>k</sup> Cap. 11. Ζητήσωμεν δὲ εἰ ἡμέλησε τῷ Κυρίῳ προφανερῶσαι περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, καὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ.

<sup>l</sup> Cap. 12. Ὅτι οὐ δύναται σωθῆναι, εἰ μὴ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐλπίσωσι.

doubted, but St. Barnabas would have taken the same method in regard to baptism, and have mentioned the original of it among the Jews, if he had been acquainted with it; whereas he only cites some passages of the prophets, which he applies to baptism, after he had said, ‘As for baptism, it is written ‘to the people of Israel, that they shall not receive ‘that baptism which brings to forgiveness of sins, but ‘shall institute to themselves others<sup>m</sup>.’ He means, as Menard is of opinion, their frequent superstitious washings. And these being the only vicarious baptisms he speaks of, it is probable he knew no other, in whose stead ours was at first instituted, and is at present continued.

Justin Martyr, in his long dispute with Trypho the Jew, mentions perhaps all their other rites, and their legal washings, but is utterly silent as to this initiatory baptism; and there are some passages which seem to argue he was ignorant of it. In one place he says thus, ‘As therefore circumcision began ‘in Abraham, and the sabbath and sacrifices, and ‘oblations and holy days, were first instituted by ‘Moses, all which we have proved were appointed because of the hardness of the people’s hearts: so they ‘ought all now to cease, according to the will of the ‘Father, in him that was born of the virgin, of the ‘seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Judah, and of the ‘stock of David, even Jesus Christ the Son of ‘God.—And we who through him find access to ‘God, do not receive the circumcision of the flesh, ‘but that spiritual one which Enoch and such like

<sup>m</sup> Cap. 11. Περὶ μὲν τοῦ ὕδατος, γέγραπται ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ, πῶς τὸ βάπτισμα τὸ φέρον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν οὐ μὴ προσδέχονται· ἀλλ’ ἐαυτοῖς οἰκοδομήσουσι.

'observed: and this we receive by baptism through the mercy of God, and all are permitted to receive it this way'. It is observable here that the martyr asserts, all the ceremonials of Moses were to end in Christ; baptism itself therefore, if it had been in use before, must have ceased likewise under the Gospel: but as this is contrary to the institution of our Lord, and the universal knowledge and practice of the Christian Church, it is certain the holy martyr had no notion of any such baptism.

This seems a little more evident from the last part of the words, wherein he opposes our new circumcision, and our new way of receiving it, to their circumcision of the flesh: and as before he asserted, that began from Abraham, and was to end in Christ; his opposition here cannot mean less than that our baptism was a new thing which began in Christ, that is, with his new dispensation.

In another place, when the Jew acknowledged it was not necessary to observe the whole law at all times, because it was impossible, for instance, to kill the passover when the city and temple were destroyed; St. Justin puts him upon assigning what was necessary in his opinion: to which the Jew answers,

<sup>a</sup> Dialog. cum Tryph. pag. 261. B. 'Ὡς οὖν ἀπὸ 'Αβραάμ ἤρξατο περιτομή, καὶ ἀπὸ Μωσέως σάββατον καὶ θυσίαι καὶ προσφοραὶ καὶ ἑορταί, καὶ ἀπεδείχθη διὰ τὸ σκληροκάριον τοῦ λαοῦ ὑμῶν ταῦτα διατετάχθαι, οὕτως παύσασθαι ἔδει κατὰ τὴν ταῦ Πατρὸς βουλὴν, εἰς τὸν διὰ τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους τοῦ 'Αβραάμ καὶ φυλῆς 'Ιούδα, καὶ Δαβὶδ παρθένου γεννηθέντα Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Χριστόν. — Καὶ ἡμεῖς, οἱ διὰ τούτου προσχωρήσαντες τῷ Θεῷ, οὐ ταύτην τὴν κατὰ σάρκα παρελάβομεν περιτομήν, ἀλλὰ πνευματικὴν, ἣν 'Ενὼχ καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι ἐφύλαξαν· ἡμεῖς δὲ, διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος αὐτήν, ἐπειδὴ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐγεγόνειμεν, διὰ τὸ ἔλκος τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐλάβομεν, καὶ πᾶσιν ἔφετὸν ὁμοίως λαμβάνειν. [Sect. 43. edit. Benedict.]

‘ To keep holy the sabbaths, to be circumcised, to observe the new moons, and to be baptized or washed,’ (if he had stopped here, this would have been thought a great argument for Mr. Wall; but he adds,) ‘ when one has touched and been defiled by any of those things Moses has mentioned<sup>o</sup>.’ The baptism the Jew speaks of here is confined by the last words to *purifications* for *pollution*; and since he mentions no other, it must be natural to suppose, he allowed of no other: for St. Justin putting him to instance in things which might and ought to be observed, he would certainly have named *baptism* for *proselytism*, if there had been any, as well as circumcision, because it was as easy to be observed.

I remember one passage particularly in Tertulian, which is very cogent and plain to shew this initiatory baptism is a mere fable. Even in his time some wicked people, as he calls them, were arrived to that degree of boldness as to deny the necessity and usefulness of baptism, because they found faith alone had been sufficient to save some; and they seem to have objected that Abraham, &c., were saved by faith without baptism: to these he answers, ‘ Though salvation was to be had by a bare faith before our Lord’s coming, yet when the objects of our faith were multiplied, and we are to believe in his birth and passion and resurrection, then there is an addition made to the sacrament, to wit the seal of baptism, which is the clothing as it were of faith, which before was bare or naked<sup>p</sup>.’

<sup>o</sup> Page 264. C. Ἡ ἀκείνος, τὸ σαββατίζειν λέγω, καὶ τὸ περιτέμνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ τὰ ἔμμηνα φυλάσσειν, καὶ τὸ βαπτίζεσθαι ἀψάμενον τίνος ὧν ἀπηγόρευται ὑπὸ Μωσέως. [Sect. 46.]

<sup>p</sup> De Baptismo, p. 229. D. Fuerit salus retro per fidem nudam ante Domini passionem et resurrectionem: at ubi fides

Nothing can be plainer than that Tertullian here makes baptism to be a new ordinance, not used till the Christian dispensation; for baptism, he says, was *then* instituted, when we were to believe in Christ: and till then *faith was naked* and not covered with this clothing; that is, they were to believe, but were not baptized. Several other passages might be added from this Father, as where he opposes the Christian baptism to the Jewish washings for pollution, not for initiation<sup>1</sup>. But this one is so clear that it may serve for all.

Origen also is very plain; for speaking of the notion of the Pharisees, that none could baptize beside Christ, or Elias, or that prophet, he says, in opposition to Heracleon, who had allowed it, that 'he cannot prove any prophet did ever baptize,' neither Moses, nor any after him till John, whom the Pharisees reproved: from whence it seems evident that Origen did not know of any initiatory baptism among the Jews.

To these I add an illustrious instance from the writings of St. Cyril of Jerusalem<sup>2</sup>; who answering this question, why the grace was communicated by water rather than by any thing else? observes, 'that the Spirit moved upon the face of the waters,

aucta est credendi in nativitatem, passionem, resurrectionemque ejus, addita est ampliatio sacramento, obsignatio baptismi, vestimentum quodammodo fidei, quæ retro erat nuda. [cap. 13.]

<sup>1</sup> De Baptismo, p. 230. B. Ceterum Israel Judæus quotidie lavat, quia quotidie inquinatur. Quod ne in nobis quoque facitaretur, propterea de uno lavacro definitum est, &c. [cap. 15.]

<sup>2</sup> Comment. in Joan. p. 117. B. Οὐ γὰρ ἔχει δεῖξαι τὸν τῶν προφητῶν βαπτίσαντα. [Comm. tom. vi. sect. 13. apud Origen. Op. tom. iv. p. 125. edit. Benedict.]

<sup>3</sup> Catechetic. iii. p. 17.

Gen. i. 2: that the coming out of Egypt was through the sea Exod. xiv. 21: that Aaron was first washed and afterwards installed high priest, Exod. xxix. 4: that the brassen laver, which was to be placed between the tabernacle and the altar, Exod. xxx. 18, was a symbol of baptism: but he never gives the least intimation of any initiatory ~~rites~~ which gave rise to it, though he had so far in verbum to mention it, if such a rite had been in use. Were the same question proposed to Mr. Wal. instead of mentioning all those other things, we may be sure he would answer directly, that it having been a ceremony with the Jews from the time of Moses to initiate all persons by baptism, Christ was willing to continue the same mode of initiation in his church: and if our author's supposition were true, this would have been the proper answer to the question: nor is it to be imagined that St. Cyril would have omitted it, had he known or believed such a baptism. On the contrary, the following words seem to give us very strong presumptions to think he traced the beginning of this ceremony from St. John viii.

Besides, it is said to some instead of the Jewish initiation, out of several other things, that it is all consistent with its being derived from the Jewish initiation, for then it could not have succeeded that. The author of the second book says, it was at first instituted in a secret manner, in their heads is made, and should think then, therefore, it should be so done, as being a baptism of water.

' name, they should be absolved from all their  
' sins <sup>t</sup>.'

There is likewise a very remarkable passage in the Constitutions, where the Christian baptism is said to be instead of a Jewish: and if the following explication had not been added, this place, no doubt, would have been frequently turned upon us; but these words have secured it on our side: 'Baptism, ' sacrifice, the priesthood, and their local worship, ' he has changed; and instead of the daily washings ' under the law, he has given us one only baptism ' into his death <sup>u</sup>,' &c.

Mr. Hill, a presbyter of the diocese of Bath and Wells, if he be of any authority with you, asserts the same thing: 'For to the Levitical washings answers our baptism; to their sacrifices, the sacrifice ' of Christ <sup>x</sup>,' &c. And those who say it succeeds in the Christian church in the place of circumcision in the Jewish, by this virtually confess the Jews had no such baptism; for if there was such a rite among them, and our Lord took this ordinance from it, they ought to say our baptism succeeds to that, and not to circumcision. These same persons, it is true, at other times, derive it from the Jewish baptism

<sup>t</sup> Lib. i. cap. 39. Et ne forte putarent, cessantibus hostiis, remissionem sibi non fieri peccatorum, baptismata eis per aquam statuit; in quo ab omnibus peccatis, invocato ejus nomine, solverentur.

<sup>u</sup> Lib. vi. cap. 23. Τὸ βάπτισμα, τὴν θυσίαν, τὴν ιερωσύνην, τὴν τοπικὴν λατρείαν, ἐτέρως μετεποίησεν· ἀντὶ μὲν καθημερινοῦ, ἐν μίᾳ δούς βάπτισμα, τὸ εἰς τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον, &c.

<sup>x</sup> Dissert. de Presbyteratu, lib. iv. cap. 3. §. 3. Siquidem lotionibus Leviticis nostrum lavacrum, istorum sacrificiis Christi victima——ex adverso respondent.



too ; which plainly discovers their great prejudices and partiality, and how inconsistent they are with themselves.

But as to the Fathers, they seem in general never to have given into such an opinion, nor afforded our author the least intimation to build upon. I know they mention baptism unto Moses, and Jewish baptism ; but in these places, as you have in some degree seen, they always mean the baptism of the cloud and the sea, or some such typical one, or else the Jewish washings for purification : this must be very plain to any honest reader of their writings, and therefore I think it the less needful to insist more upon it.

Now to draw up the force and conclusion of these observations in short. If, as I have made out to you, there is no command in Scripture, nor instance in that nor any other authentic writing, of the Christian baptism's being derived from the Jews, but several considerable authors do, in effect, deny it, and place it in the stead, not of a Jewish initiatory baptism, but of something else : and if none of the more ancient writers in their discourses on the Jewish ceremonies do ever once mention this baptism of proselytes ; nor, when treating expressly on the Christian sacrament, ever intimate they thought it was derived from any such original : then all this, I think, must prove, as fully as a negative can be proved, that there was no such practice among the Jews so anciently as is pretended.

And if, after all, any should continue to believe or assert the Jews did, from Moses to our Saviour's time, and so down, receive their proselytes by baptism, notwithstanding what I have urged to the

contrary; yet on several other accounts, there is a great deal of reason to say, this custom of the Jews, though ever so true, can do no service to the cause of pædobaptism. For,

1. It does not in the least appear that infants were so admitted; and Mr. Wall does not offer the least colour of an argument to make it probable; but only cites a passage or two from the rabbins, whose authority I have proved to be of no great weight. But,

2. Even supposing proselytes and their infants were usually initiated by baptism; will it therefore follow the Christian baptism must be exactly the same, and administered to the same persons? By no means. How dangerous and pernicious this consequence is, appears from the handle it gives the Socinians, Quakers, and Libertines, to explode the use of this sacrament altogether among the offspring of Christian parents. For if the Jewish method in their supposed baptism must be the rule of ours, then none are to be baptized but those who turn from a different religion to the Christian: the first converts, and their children born before their baptism, are to be baptized, but none of their posterity born after their baptism; for this, our author says, was the practice of the synagogue, and 'our Saviour gave no direction for any alterations.'

Mr. Wall takes notice of this difficulty\*; but I think he says nothing to evade the force of it, and only notes, that both sides allow the necessity of the sacrament, and therefore we need not concern ourselves with this part of the pretended Jewish custom.

\* Introd. page 17. [25.]

▪ Ibid.

But by Mr. Wall's leave, it does affect the dispute between us; for it is a common rule of disputation, 'That which proves too much, proves nothing 'at all.' And if a necessary consequence of more than is true follows from any premises, it is a certain sign those premises are not true; and if not true, they are to be rejected. This now is the case of the particular before us. For if the Jewish baptism was never administered to any but the first converts, and must be the rule to us of our practice; then we must not baptize those who are born of Christian parents, neither infants nor adult.

So that the premises upon which our adversaries build, and which they call 'the main basis of infant-baptism,' tend to throw this sacrament out of the church; which is undoubtedly a very wild and erroneous extreme. For in short, let the Socinians and others say what they please, the Scriptures assure us, baptism was instituted by Christ, and was, and ought to be, administered, *for the forgiveness of sins*; and therefore men ought to be very careful how they neglect that ordinance. And since the pædobaptists acknowledge this, they ought in prudence, and for the honour of God and of his sacraments, to lay aside those principles which are so destructive of the Christian œconomy.

Besides, according to the principles of the pædobaptists themselves, there is no manner of analogy between this pretended Jewish and the Christian pædobaptism; for the Jews, they suppose, baptized the parents together with the infants born to them, before their actual proselytism; but on the contrary, those born to Christian parents before their conversion to Christianity are accounted an unholy

seed, and not capable of baptism; as Dr. Whitby<sup>a</sup>, and most pædobaptists, are of opinion. And again on the other hand, the Jews never baptized the children born of proselytes after their proselytism<sup>b</sup>; but on the contrary, the children of Christian parents, they pretend, should all be baptized, though born after their parents' conversion. In both cases running directly opposite to the pattern, which they tell us Christ 'took as he found it, giving no direction for any alteration <sup>c</sup>.'

Again, though the Jews should be allowed to have baptized the infant children of proselytes, it no more follows we must do so too, than that we ought to admit them to the other sacrament, because the Jews caused their infant children to eat of the paschal lamb; which is supposed to be a type of Christ, and of the supper he instituted or borrowed from thence; nay it would follow more strongly, that since infants were admitted to the shadow or type, they should now also be admitted to the antitype, which however our antagonists will not pretend.

3. In the third place, whatever might be the practice of the Jews, we need only go back to St. John's baptism, which there is more reason to think was the pattern of Christ's than a Jewish ceremony, because he was our Saviour's immediate forerunner. And this our author confesses, when he says, 'The baptism indeed of the nations by the apostles ought to be regulated by the practice of John and of Christ himself—rather than by any preceding custom of the Jewish nation; if we had any good

<sup>a</sup> Annot. in 1 Cor. vii. 14.

<sup>b</sup> Wall's Introd. p. 12. [18.]

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 17. med. [25.]

‘ground to believe that they did in the case of infants differ, or alter any thing from the usual way<sup>d</sup>.’

If the practice then of St. John and Christ himself is sufficient, and the best rule we can go by, as far as it is plain, let us for the future allow no inventions of the Jews to be made an argument in the controversy; for the practice of St. John and our Lord is abundantly plain from much better than rabbinical authority. The sense of the commission Christ gave his disciples, Matth. xxviii. 19, I have already proved does effectually exclude infants; and what St. John acted is manifest, if we dare trust St. Matthew’s account of the matter; who tells us indeed, that John baptized *Jerusalem and all Judæa, and all the region round about Jordan*, but at the same time assures us, that as many as he baptized *confessed their sins*, Matth. iii. 5, 6. And, therefore, as we cannot say some confessed their sins, in that evangelical sense, and yet were not baptized; so neither may any pretend some were baptized, who yet did not and could not confess their sins. For your further satisfaction, you may look back to what is said about this in a former letter.

Eusebius transcribes a passage from Josephus very clear to this purpose, wherein the historian says thus of St. John, and his practice in relation to baptism; ‘He was a good man, and persuaded the Jews to righteousness, commanding them to deal justly with one another, and piously towards God, and so come to baptism. For baptism would be acceptable to him, when used, not for purging away

<sup>d</sup> Introd. p. 18. [27.]

'some particular offences, but for purifying the body in general, the soul being before purified by righteousness<sup>e</sup>.' Josephus in these words, and Eusebius by transcribing them, do both assure us, this was St. John's method. And, by the way, give me leave to observe, that St. John's initiatory baptism is here remarkably opposed to the Jewish washings for particular offences, viz. their legal uncleannesses; which is as much as to say, the baptism of St. John was a new thing, and not like the other baptisms in use among them, that were administered for particular offences only; whereas his was at once to purge from all.

'As to St. John's practice, Origen, one of the most learned of the ancients, says expressly on the passage; 'We ought necessarily to observe, that both St. Matthew and St. Mark say, that upon confessing their sins, all Jerusalem, and all Judæa, and all the region round about Jordan, or all the country of Judæa, and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, were baptized. But St. Matthew brings in the Pharisees and Sadducees coming to be baptized, but not confessing their sins; and for this reason they are called a generation of vipers<sup>f</sup>.' And a

<sup>e</sup> Hist. Euseb. lib. i. cap. 11. 'Αγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κελεύοντα ἀρετὴν ἐπασκῆσαι, καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαιοσύνη καὶ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν εὐσεβεῖα χρωμένους, βαπτισμῷ συνιέναι. οὕτω γὰρ διὰ καὶ τὴν βάπτισιν ἀποδεκτὴν αὐτῷ φανείσθαι· μὴ ἐπὶ τινῶν ἁμαρτάνων παραιτήσεως χρωμένων, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἀγνείᾳ τοῦ σώματος, ἃτε διὰ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς δικαιοσύνη, προεκεκαθαρμένης.

<sup>f</sup> In Johan. p. 118. D. "Ἐτι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἀναγκαῖον ἡμᾶς παραβίσθαι, ὅτι ἀμφοτέροι μὲν, ὃ τε Ματθαῖος, καὶ ὁ Μάρκος ἐξομολογουμένους τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν φασὶ βαπτίζεσθαι, πᾶσαν Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν περίχωρον τοῦ Ἰωρδάνου, ἣ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν χώραν, καὶ τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας πάντας· ὃ δὲ Ματθαῖος εἰσάγει μὲν ἔρχο-

little after, he adds, 'The Pharisees and Sadducees 'were different from those who confessed their 'sins.' Plainly intimating, that all those who were before said to be baptized, were also said to confess their sins.

Besides, St. John's baptism was the baptism of repentance: so St. Paul teaches the Ephesians, Acts xix. 4, *John verily baptized with the baptism of repentance*, and therefore St. John himself refuses to baptize the Pharisees, &c., directing them to *bring forth fruits meet for repentance*, Matt. iii. 8. Now, that can never be a baptism of repentance which is given to those who do not repent. St. John therefore could no more administer this baptism to infants who could not, than to the Pharisees who would not repent. If you consider this impartially, sir, I am persuaded you will see reason to believe St. John baptized only adult persons: from whence it will follow, that since his practice is allowed to be our precedent, we are bound to do the same.

4. But in the last place, to fix the matter entirely, this custom of the Jews to initiate all proselytes and their children by baptism, allowing the fact to be ever so certain, was at best only a traditionary ceremony from the rabbins; and though our author thinks fit to correct Mr. Stennet for saying so, yet that gentleman's short argument,

μένους ἐπὶ τὸ βάπτισμα τοὺς Φαρισαίους, καὶ Σαδδουκαίους, οὐ μὴν ἔξομολογουμένους τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν· διόπερ εἰκὸς καὶ τοῦτο εὐλογον εἶναι αἴτιον τοῦ ἀπηκοέναι αὐτοὺς γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν. [Comm. lib. vi. sect. 14.—Op. tom. iv. p. 127. edit. Benedict.]

§ Pag. 119. D. Ἑτέροις οὖσιν παρὰ τοὺς ἔξομολογουμένους τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν. [Sect. xiv. Tom. iv. p. 128. A. edit. Benedict.]

that 'no such initiation is commanded in the law 'of God<sup>b</sup>,' will overbear all he has there said about it.

To suppose the tradition of their elders of any authority to prove the divine institution of that ceremony, is very weak and trifling; and Mr. Wall would be far from allowing all the consequences of such a supposition.

But he says, 'They quoted texts in the law of 'God for what they did<sup>i</sup>.' And what then? Is it therefore a divine institution, because they pretend this or the other text favours it? And will our author himself acquiesce in all they bring Scripture to vouch? They may cite the whole Bible, though not a word in it makes for them; and yet, according to Mr. Wall, the thing is well enough proved, as long as they cite so good authority.

But I am inclined to think, the Jews were not so much out in the texts they cite, as our author is, in imagining they grounded their baptism of proselytes on them. I have already shewn the Scriptures mention no such baptism of proselytes, and that therefore it was only a tradition: the rabbins themselves tacitly confess this, in arguing from the legal washings; and expressly in that very determination of the dispute between rabbi Eliezer and rabbi Joshua, which our antagonists constantly quote, in these words: 'But the wise men pronounced, that till he were both circumcised and 'baptized, he was not a proselyte<sup>k</sup>.' For this makes it appear they derived the practice only from the authority of their elders.

<sup>b</sup> Introd. p. 28. [41.]

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. [p. 42.]

<sup>k</sup> Talmud. Jebamoth. cap. 4.



That this is a just inference from the words cannot be questioned, if we observe, that the Jews make a common distinction between the pollutions and purifications expressed in the law, and those which are not expressed there, but have their obligation from the authority and constitutions of the rabbins. Thus the great Maimonides says, ‘The ‘uncleannesses I have expounded are all from the ‘law, and are therefore called pollutions which ‘depend on the words of the law: but there are, ‘beside these, several other pollutions, which are ‘decreed to be so by the authority of the rabbins ‘only; and are therefore called pollutions grounded ‘on the determinations of the rabbins<sup>1</sup>.’

In other passages of the same preface, he carefully preserves this distinction, and frequently notes, that this or the other ‘pollution arises from the ‘determinations of the doctors;’ and ‘this is unclean ‘only because the scribes have decreed so,’ &c.

The same observation holds good likewise in other cases besides this of pollutions: but I instance in this, because it seems homogeneous to the matter in dispute; and in the Talmud, you see, the baptism or purification of proselytes is bottomed on the authority of the wise men; for since it is plain the Jews have added many things to those determined in the law, and particularly in the matter of washings, and since we find no footsteps of any such baptism in the Scriptures, it is natural to believe it was instituted only by the rabbins, and that when the Talmud attributes it to the wise men, it means so.

Maimonides expressly assures us, this is the proper

<sup>1</sup> Prefat. in Seder. Taharoth.

design and meaning of that Talmudical phrase: for shewing the sanction of each constitution in the Talmud, he distributes them into five classes. 'The first contains those things which were received from Moses, and have some foundation, and may be concluded from the sacred text, &c. The second class comprehends those things which are denominated Constitutions of Moses from Sinai, but cannot be proved or collected by any argument from the Scriptures, &c. The third comprehends those which are drawn from argumentation only, and which are disputed; in which cases, the opinion of the majority takes place,' &c. —And these things, he says, are known in the Talmud by these distinguishing phrases, '*N. says* thus, for this reason; and '*N. says* thus, for this reason.

'But if any one should think these things, which admit of dispute, were received by tradition from Moses, and that the dispute arose from forgetfulness or mistake, so that one side is right, but the other either mistook the sense, or forgot some part, or else did not learn of his doctor all he ought to have learned——this is very unhand-some and absurd, and for want of knowing things, and the foundations of them, mightily detracts from the reputation of those men who have delivered to us the traditions. It is therefore altogether false, and arises from——and their not distinguishing between those things which are received by tradition, & those which are only inferences from them. But of, lay down this as thou findest a d

‘ of Shammai and the disciples of Hillel——neither what one nor the other asserts was derived by tradition from Moses, nor spoken from Mount Sinai<sup>m</sup>.’

And therefore since R. Eliezer and R. Joshua do controvert the baptism of proselytes, it cannot be thought a tradition from Moses, but only an inference of the later rabbins, drawn from some other principles, and not capable of being proved from the Scriptures, neither expressly nor by consequence ; for this Maimonides notes as the property of the first class only.

‘ The fourth class,’ he says, ‘ contains the decrees and determinations of the prophets and wise men ——which they call *constitutions*.——That thou shalt not eat the flesh of a bird with milk, is a constitution of our doctors, to keep men at a greater distance from transgression ; for whereas the law only prohibited the flesh of some beasts, the wise men, to keep us at a greater distance from that which the law makes unlawful, forbid also birds,’ &c.——And this kind of constitutions, when they are of general use, he determines out of the Talmud, that even Elias himself, to whom they refer all things, has not power to alter or abolish in any one single point.

‘ But the fifth and last class,’ he says, ‘ is of those things which may be of use to men, in order to the observation of the precepts of the law. ——Of this sort of constitutions there are very many in the Talmud and Mishna —— and some are the constitutions of particular wise men ; as

<sup>m</sup> Præfat. in Seder Zeraim.

‘when it is said Hillel determined, or our master  
 ‘Gamaliel determined, or R. John the son of Zac-  
 ‘chaeus determined, &c. — Others again are con-  
 ‘stitutions of the whole body; as when it is said,  
 ‘it was agreed in Usa; the wise men pronounced;  
 ‘or it is a constitution of the wise men.’ And of  
 this nature exactly is the case of baptizing prose-  
 lytes; for the Talmud ushers in the tradition thus:  
 ‘The wise men pronounced,’ &c.

Hence you see, sir, the baptism of proselytes is built on this last authority, which is the lowest of all. And if Maimonides understood the sense of their own Talmud, which I believe no man ever did better; then the Talmud founds this baptism not on the law, nor on any tradition from Moses, but only on the judgments and determinations of their rabbins; which reduces the main basis of infant-baptism to nothing else but a mere rabbinical tradition.

They cite indeed Exod. xix. 10, as Mr. Wall objects; but I have before shewn<sup>a</sup>, it does not prove the thing Mr. Wall thinks it is cited for. Besides, it seems plainly to have been cited only by way of accommodation, not that they believed there was any argument in it: and this method was usual with the Jews. For, what Dr. Pococke says concerning their custom of washing their hands, is very applicable to the present case: ‘Though they en-  
 ‘deavour to find some foundation in the law for  
 ‘this rite, and refer to those words, Lev. xv. 11,  
 ‘(or in our case, Exod. xix. 10,) this is but an  
 ‘insufficient kind of proof, and they themselves

<sup>a</sup> Page 386, &c.

‘ confess it is only derived from the authority of  
‘ their doctors<sup>n</sup>.’

If then this be the state of the case ; supposing this baptism had been practised in our Saviour’s time, it is great presumption in our adversaries to draw it into a precedent for the Christian church, and to corrupt the pure institutions of Christ with the fancies of the rabbins : especially after our Lord has strictly cautioned us, as well as his disciples, to *beware of the leaven of the Pharisees*.

For it is to be observed, the traditions our Lord condemns were such particularly as related to washings : which shews, that corruptions had crept into those things ; and therefore it is probable, if there was any such baptism, it was introduced with these inventions. And our Lord, by condemning their traditions, certainly intended, neither that, nor any part of them should be continued without his particular injunction ; nor would his disciples have ventured to retain it on any pretence whatever. And it is very strange that any, but especially so many learned and judicious men among the pædobaptists, should so easily persuade themselves to follow this unwarrantable method, notwithstanding Christ so clearly disallows it, and they know at the same time what a faithless sort of men the rabbins are, on whom they depend.

Thus I have proved from many considerations that the arguments of our adversaries do not make

<sup>n</sup> Not. Miscell. cap. ix. p. 385. Quamvis enim ritum istum aliquo modo in lege fundari volunt, et ad verba ista וידין לא שטף במים *et manus suas non laverit*, Levit. xv. 11, referant, non est hoc tamen aliud quam אסמכתא בעלמא *Probatio minime valida* et שאינו אלא מדרבנן *non aliunde quam a doctoribus profectum* fatentur, &c.

it appear to have been the custom of the Jews at our Saviour's time to baptize proselytes and their children. I have also added several arguments which do with great probability evince the contrary. I have likewise shewn, that even supposing the fact could be demonstrated, it is no rule to us in the administration of a Christian sacrament, as being only a tradition of their elders, and not grounded on Scripture, nor derived from Moses. And this cuts off one great part of the pretended evidence for infant-baptism, and effectually everts what they call the 'main basis' of it. The other kind of evidence Mr. Wall produces, viz. the authority of the Fathers, is next to be considered. In the mean time, I am,

Sir, &c.

## LETTER XI.

WHAT is to be the particular business of the following letters —The authority of the primitive Fathers more to be valued than Duillé and some others suppose—It would be easy to defend the credit of the Fathers from the cavils of these men —They were, doubtless, faithful in the relations they were well qualified to give of affairs in their own churches and times—And so far their authority is of consequence—But yet this is not sufficient to ground Mr. Wall's attempt upon, though they should afford ever so many full citations—They were sometimes in the wrong—The two only ways to prove infant-baptism, are insufficient, even though the arguments our adversaries make use of be allowed all the force they are pretended to have—It is probable the earliest churches practised only what they received from the apostles—Mr. Wall takes no notice of St. Barnabas, because he makes against infant-baptism, in several places—The passages from St. Clement examined—Mr. Wall's argument from them stated —The main point on which it turns, a groundless mistake, viz. that baptism is necessary universally to all that shall be saved—Baptism does not appear to have been designed to wash away original sin—By this same argument, it might as certainly be proved, that all the antipædobaptists now are for infant-baptism—The passages from Hermas considered—In the passages cited, this Father speaks only of adult persons—John iii. 5. considered—Kingdom of God does not necessarily mean the kingdom of glory—The words cannot be taken universally—Tis has no relation to infants in any place of Scripture—And here relates only to the subjects of whom our Lord speaks—Who are only adult persons who have heard the word preached—As appears, 1. Because such only can be expected to comply with the institution, to whom only it is truly given—2. Because such only can be saved by it, according to St. Peter—Whose words the pædobaptists have never yet fairly interpreted —Dr. Whitby's evasion considered—3. The same form of speech usual, when infants are not included; as they seem not to be in this place by our

Saviour's words in the context—4. The words under consideration cannot be true of infants—5. Something in the words themselves limits them to adult persons—What it is to be born of the Spirit—Dr. Whitby's judicious observations on the text—Another passage of *Hermas* considered—He only describes visions, and therefore is not always to be taken literally—He cannot mean, that persons in their separate state were or could be baptized with material water—He says nothing however of infant-baptism; but rather excludes infants in this very passage—Besides, to give up all our adversaries can reasonably desire here, it would only prove infants shall be baptized in their separate estate after death, which is nothing to our dispute—Another passage of *Hermas*—That infants are esteemed of God, no argument they ought to be baptized—This passage makes rather against infant-baptism—*Hermas* says several things inconsistent with it—Matt. xix. 14. considered—It has no relation to baptism—Dr. Whitby's improvement of the passage examined—It is probable the children were brought to be healed—It does not follow from these words, that they are fit to be dedicated to Christ by baptism—The bishop of Salisbury's assertion noted, and disproved—Conclusion.



You may remember, sir, that Mr. Wall allows there are but two ways to establish the credit and divine authority of infant-baptism: viz. to ascertain the practice of the Jews in Christ's time; and of the primitive church immediately after.

The practice of the Jews, in relation to this point, was the subject of my last letter: all I have further to add, is to shew, that it does not appear that the Christians of the first ages did practise infant-baptism, and that the writings of the Fathers of those times do not countenance it in the least. And when this is done, Mr. Wall's concession gives up the cause, and the patrons of infant-baptism should



honestly renounce their error, or else produce some better arguments on their side.

To all that is usually built on the credit of the Fathers, some take the shortest way, and answer by rejecting their authority; and Daillé, who has observed no moderation towards those good men in another case, has lent such disputants a helping hand to destroy their reputation. It is an ill return for the great lessons and examples of piety they have given us, and for their having been so instrumental in transmitting to us the knowledge of our most holy religion. And there is yet a greater evil attends this method; for all the abuses and affronts put upon the Fathers of the first centuries, do in the end reflect on Christianity itself, which those great men have handed down, and which therefore must needs be, in some degree, of but doubtful authority if it depends on insufficient testimonies.

It would not be difficult to defend the writings of the Fathers from the reproaches cast on them by these men, and by Daillé their oracle, notwithstanding he has taken such pains in the matter, and pushed it with all the vigour he could. But it is a nice subject, and much too copious to be treated here at large. I shall therefore only say, that in many cases, the rejecting the authority of the Fathers is a very wild extreme; which men are driven to, only because they have nothing better to say for themselves, and cannot brook to see their opinions contradicted in their writings.

That the Fathers of the first churches were honest faithful men, and every way capable to acquaint us with the true posture of affairs in their own churches and times, and therefore are to be depended on as

far as they relate facts within their proper cognizance, must be allowed on all hands; and I do not see how their greatest enemies can have the face to deny this: and Mr. Wall pretends to make no further use of their authority in the present dispute, than to shew what was the opinion or practice of the churches where they presided, and of the times when they wrote.

However, Mr. Wall's argument from the Fathers turns upon a supposition which cannot easily be granted him; viz. that the primitive church believed and practised nothing but what they had received from the apostles themselves. For what can he mean by endeavouring to prove, the church of the first three centuries practised infant-baptism? unless at the same time he imagines their practice a sufficient argument of its divine institution. And if our author had ventured to lay down this principle so formally as I have expressed it; every one, though ever so little acquainted with ecclesiastical history, would have been able to judge of the weakness of it.

But, without any reflection on the honour and fidelity of the Fathers, their testimonies cannot support infant-baptism, though they should afford our author ever so many and full citations; for if the Fathers only prove *fact* in the church, and not *right*, and the church was not wholly pure from innovations; how does this prove the baptism of infants was no innovation, but an institution of Christ? And yet this is the thing our author should have done, though he takes no notice of it.

It is irksome to remember the instances of human frailty which even the most ancient church was

liable to; they were men subject to like passions with us, and therefore no wonder they were sometimes in the wrong; and their zeal for God's honour was not always according to knowledge; which, though it might keep them from losing the chief thing our Lord had commanded, might however expose them to the inconveniency of superadding several things he never authorized. The apostles undoubtedly kept close to his directions in all things, without deviation either in defect or excess; for they had the immediate assistance, in a most extraordinary manner, of the Spirit of God; 'But that the Christians of the very next age made several additions,' Tertullian confesses in his book *de Corona*<sup>a</sup>. And Eusebius, from Hegesippus, notes that 'the church continued all the apostles' times a pure virgin undefiled — But when those holy men were dead — then errors began to arise through the mistakes of other teachers<sup>b</sup>.' And therefore in the present dispute between us and the pædobaptists, though our author should prove with all imaginable evidence, that the churches did, immediately after the apostles, practise infant-baptism; it will be no proof that infant-baptism was instituted by Christ, or practised by his apostles; because it remains a very material question, whether it was derived from

<sup>a</sup> Rigaltius in Cyprian. Epist. lxiv. p. 279. b. At Christianos ævi proxime addidisse pluscula, fatetur Tertullianus libro de Corona. [p. 158. edit. Fell.]

<sup>b</sup> Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 32. 'Ὡς ἄρα μέχρι τῶν τότε χρόνων παρθένος καθαρὰ καὶ ἀδιάφορος ἔμεινεν ἡ ἐκκλησία. — Ὡς δὲ ὁ ἱερός τῶν ἀποστόλων χορὸς διάφορον εἰλήφει τοῦ βίου τέλος ———— τῆς αὐτῆς τῆς ἀθείου πλάνης τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανεν ἡ σύστασις διὰ τῆς τῶν ἑτεροδιδασκάλων ἀπάτης.

them, or only began with some other things after their death? And this objection our author has taken no care to guard against, though we may suppose he could not be ignorant that the primitive churches were liable to innovations, and did actually admit several.

Though this might be very justly insisted on against our adversaries; yet I will give them all the advantages they can desire: and therefore I will grant it is however probable, that what all or most of the earliest churches practised immediately after the apostles' times, had been appointed or practised by the apostles themselves, and was derived from them; for it is hardly to be imagined, that any considerable body of those ancient Christians, and much less that the whole or a great part of the church, should so soon deviate from the customs and injunctions of their venerable founders, whose authority they held so sacred. And besides, new opinions or practices, we see, are usually introduced by degrees, and not at once, nor without opposition; therefore in regard to baptism in particular, a thing of such universal concern and daily practice, I allow it to be very probable, that the primitive churches kept to the apostles' pattern. But then I desire it may also be considered, that this, though ever so probable, cannot be fairly made equivalent to the authority of the Scriptures: so that, if it can be proved from the Scriptures to be but likewise so much as probable, that the apostles did not baptize infants (which, I think, I have already shewn); that other probability, drawn from the writings of the Fathers, ought not to be urged against us. However I am to suppose here, (as indeed I verily believe,) that the

primitive church maintained, in this case, an exact conformity to the practice of the apostles, which, doubtless, entirely agreed with Christ's institution; and I might venture to put the whole matter upon this issue. Nay further, since Mr. Wall is desirous to have it thought *impossible*<sup>c</sup> the church should so early be ignorant of, or vary from, the practice of the apostles in so notorious an affair as that of baptism, I will for once grant him that too; so that now the whole question is reduced to this, Whether it can be proved from the authentic pieces of the primitive Fathers, that the church used infant-baptism in those earliest times? And if this cannot be proved, then upon our author's own principles, that practice is nowhere grounded on so much as one small probability. But let us see how Mr. Wall has acquitted himself in his attempt.

No other reason that I know of can be given why he does not begin with St. Barnabas, but that instead of favouring the baptism of infants, his epistle contains at least a passage or two utterly inconsistent with it; however, had our author been true to his promise, he should no more have omitted these passages *against*, than any others he thinks *for* his purpose. In one place St. Barnabas, explaining what was meant by the milk and honey which used to be given to the new-baptized, says thus; 'Because, as 'the child is nourished first with honey, and then 'with milk; so we, being strengthened and kept 'alive with the belief of his promises and the word, 'shall live and have dominion over the earth<sup>d</sup>.' Which words necessarily signify,

<sup>c</sup> Part i. p. 21. [81.]

<sup>d</sup> Cap. vi. Ὅτι πρῶτον τὸ παιδίον μέλιτι, εἶτα γάλακτι ζωοποιεῖται.

1. That the milk and honey was given to every one who was baptized ; as might be largely proved. And,

2. That the word of God, and faith in his promises, were the spiritual food with which all those new-born babes in Christianity were nourished and fed ; from whence it must unavoidably follow, that according to St. Barnabas, all persons who were admitted to baptism in his time were capable of feeding on the word and promises of God by faith, and infants doubtless could not be of this number. This he expressly tells us was the design of those symbols, and therefore it must needs appear very improper and absurd to use the sign where the thing signified cannot take place ; and to suppose St. Barnabas guilty of this, is to suppose him capable of an absurdity. The same holy writer, speaking in another place of all who were baptized, has this charitable assertion, ‘ That we go down into the water full of ‘ sins and pollution ; but come up again bringing ‘ forth fruit in our hearts, and having the fear and ‘ hope which is in Jesus in our spirit<sup>e</sup>.’ Though these words are not to be so interpreted that every one who is baptized is infallibly renewed ; yet they cannot mean less than that it is to be hoped in charity they all rise up out of the water of baptism, having in their hearts ‘ the fear and hope which is in Jesus.’ Barnabas plainly meant so ; and therefore since infants are not capable of this, of consequence he knew

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<sup>e</sup> Cap. xi. fin. Ὅτι ἡμεῖς μὲν καταβαίνομεν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ γίνοντες ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ ῥύπου, καὶ ἀναβαίνομεν καρποφοροῦντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τὸν φόβον καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἔχοντες ἐν τῷ πνεύματι.

nothing of their baptism, nor thought them fit for it.

Mr. Wall, however, does not go about to argue from this Father ; but begins his collection with two passages foreign to this purpose in St. Clement's First Epistle to the Corinthians, which, according to himself, only prove the infection of Adam's sin on all his posterity. And neither of the passages is plain even to prove this: for, in the first, St. Clement is exhorting the Corinthians to humility, among other things, from the examples of Abraham, Job, and Moses, who, though such great things were said of them, yet spoke very meanly of themselves ; but St. Clement says nothing of original sin, nor seems to have had the least thought of it. The other passage, as every one who reads it will see, has likewise no relation to original sin ; the words indeed may be strained to that sense, but there is no plain mention of it, nor any circumstance which makes it necessary to understand them so. On the contrary, since St. Clement signifies this inference from all he had been saying, immediately after the words Mr. Wall has cited : "Wherefore, having considered all these things from him, we ought in all respects to give him thanks : we must needs think he had not been speaking of original sin, for had he, we should have been told that we were the children of sin, as we are told in the Gospel, and that we were to be baptized, as we are told in the Gospel." *These words are plain and clear.*

Secondly, concerning the second passage, it is plain that St. Clement is speaking of the baptism of the Corinthians, and not of original sin, for he says, "We are baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit."

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Besides, supposing St. Clement does speak of original sin, what is that to infant-baptism? The force of this is altogether invisible to me, nor can I

<sup>1</sup> Cap. 38. fin. Ταῦτα οὖν πάντα ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες, ὀφείλομεν κατὰ πάντα εὐχαριστεῖν αὐτῷ.

possibly unravel our author's meaning in it, unless it be this: St. Clement asserts original sin is propagated to all the posterity of Adam: no man can be saved from it but by Christ, and no man can be saved by Christ unless he be baptized; therefore none can be saved from original sin unless they are baptized: but God intended all, as well infants as others, should be saved from original sin; and therefore God designed all, as well infants as others, should be baptized.

I think I have done our author all the justice in the world, in this representation of his argument, which I have stated to the best advantage I could, and yet it is easy to see how weak and inconclusive it is: for the words he had cited, according to his own pretence, only prove that St. Clement believed the notion of original sin; but the other links of the chain are wholly our author's.

2. If these arbitrary suppositions were all really St. Clement's, they would then only shew what was St. Clement's opinion in this case: whereas our author is to shew what was the practice of the church of that time, and not the sentiments of one single man only; for he himself confesses, that 'the testimony of any of the Fathers is not so much to be regarded as it speaks their own sense, as it is for that it gives us an evidence of what was then believed, taught, or practised in the church &c.'

3. The main point, upon which the whole argument turns, is nothing but a groundless and uncharitable error. If none can be saved but such as are baptized into Christ, then all the Gentile world, whose ignorance God was pleased to wink at, must

be irrecoverably lost : and it might with as much reason be argued, that even all mankind, from the creation to Christ's death, for above four thousand years, without excepting Adam, Enoch, Abraham, Moses, David, and all the holy prophets, must also be for ever lost, for want of baptism which was not then instituted, as that children cannot be saved without baptism, which was not instituted for them. So dreadful are the consequences of that wild notion, which is directly contrary to the doctrine of Christ himself, who more than once said, *Thy sins be forgiven thee*, &c., to persons not baptized. But our author is guilty of another mistake, which likewise flows from the former, viz. that baptism is to cleanse from original sin, and that original sin cannot be forgiven without it. But baptism, we may answer, was not so much intended for the remission of original, as of actual sins : for, 1. The Scripture only teaches us to expect the remission of our actual sins upon our baptism. 2. We see infants who are sprinkled, are as much, and as early inclined to vice; and others, though ever so regularly baptized, are liable to the same inconveniences, entailed by Adam's sin on his posterity, as well as the rest of mankind, though not in the same degree : whereas, had baptism been designed entirely to wash away the effects and consequences of original sin, then all who are baptized should be as perfectly free from those things as Adam was in innocence ; for what else does the remission of sin mean, but being cleared from the imputation of guilt, and delivered from the curse and punishment of it ? And since we are convinced by the experience of one thousand seven hundred years, we must either say baptism is a vain,

impotent ceremony, which God forbid! or else grant that it was never designed to purge us from all the consequences of original sin; it being impossible at the same time both to be absolutely free from them, and to suffer them.

The pædobaptists are at a loss to determine what else children should be baptized for; who cannot be baptized for the remission of actual sins, because they have none: and since baptism is for the remission of some sin, rather than alter their practice they pretend it must be for original sin, but I have shewn it does not appear to cleanse from that; and if then children are not baptized for actual nor original sin, it necessarily follows, that they are not to be baptized at all.

There is this further absurdity in the argument, from the primitive Church's owning original sin: that if, because they believed this, it must be inferred they believed, that all persons, infants not excepted, were to be baptized, and that they did actually baptize them on that ground only; then it may as well follow, that even all the antipædobaptists in England, who do also firmly believe and profess the same notion of original sin, do likewise acknowledge and practise the baptism of infants too: for it no more follows that St. Clement, &c., were anciently for infant-baptism, than that the modern antipædobaptists are so now; since these own the doctrine of original sin as well as the others.

Mr. Wall passes, in the next place, to St. Hermas, who maintaining the necessity of water-baptism to the salvation of believers, uses some expressions from whence our author gathers, that he and the church of that time practised infant-baptism. The

force of the first passage he mentions, depends entirely upon this sentence, 'The tower is represented 'to be built upon the water, because your life is 'saved, and shall be saved by water.' And from this he would infer, that none of any age or condition can be saved without baptism; and if the church thought so, it cannot indeed be doubted, but the tenderness of the first Christians prevailed on them to baptize their children: this is Mr. Wall's meaning, though he has not given it so distinctly. But, 1. It may be noted, here is no plain intimation in St. Hermas, that none could be saved who were not baptized, though he seems to make it necessary in some cases. 2. He is speaking of building the church triumphant out of the church militant, which indeed is built on the water of baptism; but still he nowhere supposes, that none can be saved who are not members of the church militant on earth, or that all ages, any more than all conditions, are fit to be admitted into fellowship. 3. The stones of which he is building the visionary fabric, are only adult persons; whence it is clear his words can have no relation to infants; and therefore if they were to be fitted into the structure, it must be by some other means. All the stones, not only those which were employed in the building, but which were rejected too, are thus enumerated by him according to their different kind: 'Some were bright 'square stones; some were drawn out of the deep; 'others were taken off from the ground; and of 'these some were rejected, and some were fitted into 'the building; some were cut out and cast at a distance from the tower. There were likewise many 'other stones lying about the building, which were

' not made use of; some of which were very rough,  
 ' others were cracked, others were white and round,  
 ' not proper for building the tower. Besides these,  
 ' I saw likewise other stones, which were cast at a  
 ' distance from the tower, and fell into the way, but  
 ' did not continue there, but were rolled off into a  
 ' desert place. Others fell into the fire, and were  
 ' burnt. Others again falling by the water, endea-  
 ' voured to roll into it, but could not<sup>h</sup>.' Now, if in  
 all this variety infants are not comprehended, then  
 I think it must be allowed that what St. Hermas  
 says of these stones, or the building they compiled,  
 cannot be fairly applied to infants. And, if we may  
 judge of his meaning by his explication, it is past  
 all doubt that infants are entirely excluded. For  
 by those bright square stones laid in the foundation,  
 he means the apostles and bishops, and doctors and  
 ministers<sup>l</sup>: by those taken out of the deep, are sig-  
 nified 'those who are already fallen asleep, and have  
 ' suffered for the name of the Lord. They which  
 ' lie on the ground and are not polished, are those  
 ' which God has approved; because they have en-  
 ' tered the law of the Lord, and directed their way  
 ' according to his commandments. But they which  
 ' are brought, and put into the building of the  
 ' tower, are the young in faith, and the faithful<sup>k</sup>.'  
 By those that were rejected and laid by the tower,  
 are represented 'such as having sinned are willing  
 ' to repent<sup>l</sup>.' by those that are cut out and cast at a  
 distance, are meant 'the children of iniquity, who  
 ' believed only hypocritically, and their wickedness  
 ' is not departed from them<sup>m</sup>.' The rugged stones,

<sup>h</sup> Lib. i. Vis. 3. cap. 2. fin.<sup>i</sup> Ibid. cap. 5.<sup>k</sup> Ibid.<sup>l</sup> Ibid.<sup>m</sup> Ibid. cap. 6.

are 'they that have known the truth, but have not  
 'continued in it, nor been joined to the saints<sup>n</sup>.'  
 The cracked stones, are 'they who keep discord in  
 'their hearts against one another<sup>o</sup>.' The short  
 stones, are 'they who have believed indeed, but still  
 'retain much of their wickedness<sup>p</sup>.' The white  
 and round stones, are 'such as have faith, but  
 'have also the riches of this present world<sup>q</sup>.' The  
 stones which are rolled out of the way into desert  
 places, signify 'such as have believed, but through  
 'doubting have forsaken the true way<sup>r</sup>.' Those  
 which fell into the fire, are 'they who have for ever  
 'departed from the living God; nor has it any more  
 'entered into their hearts to repent, because of their  
 'lusts<sup>s</sup>.' They that could not roll into the water,  
 are 'such as have heard the word, and were willing  
 'to be baptized in the name of the Lord; but when  
 'they considered what holiness the truth required,  
 'they have drawn back, and walked again according  
 'to their own wicked lusts<sup>t</sup>.' Thus it is evident, all  
 the stones, which St. Hermas here speaks of, repre-  
 sent only adult persons, and particularly such of  
 them as have heard and believed; and therefore  
 what he says of these, should not be wrested and  
 referred to any other.

And as he is only speaking of such persons as  
 have believed or heard the word preached, it must  
 be to such only he is to be understood to make bap-  
 tism necessary. And therefore our author should  
 not have asserted from this place that St. Hermas  
 believed, 'Baptism with water is appointed the sa-  
 'crament of salvation to such as are saved<sup>u</sup>;' but

<sup>n</sup> Lib. i. Vis. 3. cap. 6.

<sup>o</sup> Ibid.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. cap. 7.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid.

<sup>t</sup> Ibid.

<sup>u</sup> Part i. p. 3. [49.]

only 'to such as believe or have heard the word 'preached.' And to such indeed we readily grant baptism is to be administered, in order to their salvation, according to the terms of the Gospel: but it will not follow that infants too ought to be baptized, nor that the primitive church thought so.

Our author has as little ground to assert, that his inference will more plainly appear to be agreeable to St. Hermas' meaning, from the next passage he recites\*: for what has been already observed on the other, may be applied to this. It is a vision much like the former; and the substance and design of it are exactly the same, viz. under the emblem of a tower to represent the building of the church with such stones as only signify adult persons.

Mr. Wall makes two observations on the words he recites. First, he would from hence fix the sense of John iii. 5. For St. Hermas having said, 'Before any one receives the name of the Son of God, 'he is liable to death; but when he receives the 'seal, he is freed from death, and delivered to life; 'now that seal is water,' &c.; and using other expressions to signify the necessity of this seal to salvation; Mr. Wall undertakes to tell us, either that this passage proves the words in St. John mean, that none can be saved without baptism; or that the words in St. John prove these in St. Hermas mean so. He has left it a little doubtful which he intends; but one he certainly means, or he means nothing: for as to the present controversy, what would it signify to know the sense of either of those writers, if it is not supposed to affect our cause? But our author, we may see, understands both St. John

\* Part i. p. 3. [49.]



and St. Hermas to say, that baptism is necessary to the salvation of all without exception; and by comparing the two passages he must mean, that one proves and confirms this to be the sense of the other. And by putting us in mind that St. John wrote his Gospel after St. Hermas had wrote this book, he seems to import that St. John is to be supposed to copy those words from St. Hermas: but other people who consider that St. John repeats them as the words of Christ, who was crucified above thirty-five years before St. Hermas wrote, will believe St. John had no respect to this passage of St. Hermas, and only relates what he had *heard and seen with his eyes, &c.*, and therefore the two places are not the same as Mr. Wall would insinuate.

St. Hermas' expressions can refer only to adult persons, to whom the word may and ought to be preached; for upon the necessity he has been speaking of, he says, 'for which reason to these also was 'this seal preached,' &c. Whoever are understood in these words, he makes preaching to them full as necessary as their being baptized.

Our Saviour's words, as recorded by St. John, have nothing in them which can at all favour the baptism of infants: but because Mr. Wall here and elsewhere, as well as other pædobaptists, argues from them, I will take this occasion to examine them a little.

It is very readily allowed him, that τὸς here, as *ἄνθρωπος*, 1 Cor. xi. 28, does mean *any one*, or if he please *every one*; and therefore we will render the original of St. John thus, with the utmost extension, *Except every one be born of water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God.*

By *kingdom of God*, our author supposes must be meant, 'the kingdom of glory hereafter in 'heaven';' and backs it with a very indifferent observation of St. Austin, viz. that its being said, ver. 3, *cannot see the kingdom of God*, instead of what is afterwards expressed by *cannot enter*, &c., clearly shews the words do not mean the church; 'for one 'that is not baptized may *see the church*. It is 'therefore plainly meant of the kingdom of glory.'

But how frivolous and unfair is this! for Mr. Wall cannot but know, that the word *see* in this, and many such places, is no more to be understood of a *physical* sight by means of the bodily eye, than it is in Matt. v. 8. where it is said of the pure in heart that *they shall see God, whom yet no man hath seen nor can see*<sup>2</sup> with bodily eyes; but it shall be in a manner vastly more glorious and wonderful, and more suitable to his infinite perfections and nature. The instances of this metaphorical use of the word are too numerous, to leave our author any excuse.

But all the ancients do understand by *kingdom of God*, in this text, 'the kingdom of glory',<sup>1</sup> says our author. Yet this may not be the true sense, if they do; for the ancients were fallible, and often gave sufficient proof of it by the strange interpretations they made: their opinions are not to be urged as always true, but only to shew us what was the opinion and practice of the times they lived in. And our author does not go about to prove his assertion; but cites, in a scornful way, the right reverend expositor of the Thirty-Nine Articles, as acknowledging the truth of it, though he attempts to give the

<sup>1</sup> Part ii. p. 124. [183, 184.]

<sup>2</sup> 1 Tim. vi. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Part ii. p. 124. [184.]

words another turn. But his lordship asserts only, 'that very early some doctrines arose upon baptism; that we cannot be determined by. The words of our Saviour to Nicodemus were expounded so <sup>b</sup>,' &c. And after infant-baptism came to some head, then indeed this was much insisted on; and the authorities Mr. Wall makes use of, in reference to this text, are, I think, all too late, and of those centuries wherein pædobaptism and many other abuses are known to have prevailed. If he had cited the writers of the first three centuries, it had been considerable; but what is it to me how St. Austin, Fulgentius, Gregory, Driedo, Lombard, Ales, and the rest of the schoolmen, determine in the matter?

Mr. Wall has not offered to confute those words of his lordship, wherein he is pleased to let us into the ground of his sense of this text. By *the kingdom of God*, may well be understood the church or dispensation of the Messiah, when, as his lordship unanswerably argues, 'that is the sense in which the kingdom of God does stand, almost universally through the whole Gospel <sup>c</sup>.' Now into this kingdom we allow that persons can regularly enter no other way but by baptism. And upon this sense of the phrase Dr. Whitby argues, 'that no man is indeed a member of Christ's kingdom, who is not truly regenerate:' which he strengthens with these words of Christ, John viii. 31, *If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed.* But if this interpretation be true, our author tells you the anti-pædobaptists gain nothing by it, 'since the only way, at least the only known and ordinary way, to

<sup>b</sup> [On Art. xxvii. p. 303. in edit. 1699.]

<sup>c</sup> Page 301.

'the kingdom of glory is by being of Christ's 'church'<sup>d</sup>. As if a person had no more to do, but to get into the church by baptism, and he would be safe enough; for no more can be needful to make him safe but to get into the *only way*. And, as if a man, on the other hand, though ever so innocent and exact in all things else, could nevertheless have no salvation, only for want of a ceremony he is utterly a stranger to, or cannot attain. I do not know where our author learned this charitable divinity; for I am sure neither the Scriptures nor the light of nature teach any such dreadful doctrines.

However, taking his sense of the place, what will our adversaries gain by it? No less they pretend than the whole matter in dispute: for then they imagine the argument will be very plain. The stress of it lies in the comprehensiveness of the particle  $\tau\iota\varsigma$ , which they suppose necessarily includes *all*; than which nothing in the world can be more false. For  $\tau\iota\varsigma$  is not an 'universal, but an indefinite; and therefore should not be understood universally. But if, because it is indefinite, it must therefore here comprehend *all*, for want of limitation, then it may as well be said to take in the whole animal creation, nay and towns and cities too: for we find  $\tau\iota\varsigma$  so far from being appropriated to signify the species of men only, that it is frequently enough used for brute beasts, and inanimate things: and since Mr. Wall will doubtless exclude them from being intended, for the very same reasons we shall insist upon excluding of infants.

There is nothing in the particle  $\tau\iota\varsigma$ , which neces-

<sup>d</sup> Part ii. p. 125. [186.]

sarily determines us to apply these words to infants. *Ἄνθρωπος*, 1 Cor. xi. 28, is synonymous with *τις*, ver. 34. of the same chapter; and yet infants cannot be thought to be included in it there, and there is no more reason they should in the place under consideration. Again, Mark xi. 25, *Forgive, if ye have ought against any*, &c.; and chap. viii. 26, *nor tell it to any in the town*. And so, as far as I remember, in all other places of Scripture where it occurs, it plainly has no relation to infants at all, nor can possibly be applied to them. And therefore, notwithstanding its<sup>e</sup> indefinite meaning, there are at least very many cases, among which we justly place John iii. 5, in which the particle is not capable of such a lax and general acceptation; nay, there are several instances where it is directly opposed to words of so comprehensive a sense. Thucydides says, ‘that the Athenians falling on (*τισιν*, a small ‘party,) not many of the Syracusians, and killing ‘some, (*τινὰς*,) erected a trophy, and returned back<sup>e</sup>.’ And in this same sentence, the particle is used to express but *some* of the *few* mentioned before; for they killed not all the few they fell on, but *some* of them only. And why then should any from the force of this word argue, that all without exception must be baptized, or they cannot be saved?

If it be said, that though *τις* does not signify all, yet since it means *any one*, or *more*, indefinitely, in all such forms of speech as this before us, it does not come short of an universal; for the proposition here being negative, it denies *any* can be saved

<sup>e</sup> Bell. Peloponnesiac. lib. vi. cap. 94. Καὶ τῶν συρακονσίων περιτυχόντες τισιν οὐ πολλοῖς, καὶ ἀποκτείναντές τε τινὰς, καὶ τροπαῖον στήσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς.

without being baptized; which makes our Saviour's words amount to this universal negative, that *none but those who are born again can enter into the kingdom of God.*

To this I answer, that it proceeds wholly on that false supposition, that  $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  necessarily intends *any one* so universally, as to extend to *all* men, women, and children. I do not know of any one instance where the particle is so used: on the contrary, I have given some, and could easily have added many more, where it undoubtedly does not extend so far. And yet unless it does in John iii. 5, they cannot infer that our Saviour's negative affects all of them, but only the subjects spoken of in the place; for at most, it is only said, none of those can be saved without baptism, but it cannot from thence be concluded that *none* beside those will be admitted without this condition.

But, to cut off all manner of subterfuges, let us consider a little who are the subjects of whom Christ speaks, for this will be the only way to fix our Lord's meaning. He says, *Except any one, &c.* Any one what? If our Lord speaks of beings in general, then it means any one being; if he speaks of angels, he means any one angel; if he speaks of mankind, as our adversaries take it, then indeed he means any one of that species: but if he speaks of men only, he intends any one man; if he speaks of women only, any one woman; if of children only, any one child, &c., and if our Lord speaks only of adult persons, who have heard the word of God preached; then  $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  in the text can mean only *any one such adult hearer.* And so our Saviour's meaning might be expressed thus: '*Except any one who is*

‘ come to the use of his reason, and has heard the word of God preached, *be born again of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.*’ And this we assert is the only genuine meaning of our Lord’s words ; which we also think appears evidently from these following considerations :

1. Because such only can be expected to comply with the institution, which indeed cannot oblige any others, for all laws oblige those only to whom they are given, and cannot be said to be given to those who cannot possibly know them, which is a direct contradiction ; for to give a law, is to make it known to those for whom it is designed ; and therefore, while they cannot know it, the law is not given to them, nor can they be obliged by it. Hence Gratian, ‘ Laws are made when they are promulgated.’ And thus St. Paul argues expressly, that *those that have sinned without law, shall perish without law, but as many as have sinned in the law, shall be judged by the law*, Rom. ii. 12. And again, *We know that what things soever the law saith, it saith to them that are under the law*, ch. iii. 19, intimating, that the law obliged the Jews only to whom it was known, but not those Gentiles who were invincibly ignorant of it. And again, ch. iv. 15, he assures us that every thing is indifferent, till prohibited or enjoined by some law ; and therefore, *where no law is, there is no transgression*. Now as this was argued to the Jews, to whom the law was made known, from which the Gentiles were excused, because they could not come at the knowledge of it ; so in relation to the law of

‘ *Leges instituuntur cum promulgantur.*

Christ, they, whether infants or adult persons, who cannot come to the knowledge of it, are not obliged to keep it, neither shall they be judged by it : for the great Legislator himself has said it, *If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin*, John xvi. 22 ; but to these Christ never yet *came nor spoke*. As before Christ appeared, none were bound to believe and live according to his peculiar doctrines ; so now they who are ignorant, are not obliged to do so till he is made known to them. For the reason is the same now, with those who cannot believe in him because they have not heard, as with those who could not then, because he was not come, and in equity they are full as excusable. For as St. Paul says, Rom. x. 14, *How shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard ?*

2. As only they who have heard, and are capable of understanding, can ever be willing to submit themselves to this ordinance of baptism, so neither can any others be saved by it ; for St. Peter, purposely to obviate this mistake of supposing the bare external washing would suffice, tells us, the whole efficacy of baptism lies in this, that it is done in obedience to our Lord's will, and as engaging ourselves to continue in that obedience : and so indeed baptism will undoubtedly *save us*, not as it is *the putting away the filth of the flesh*, but as it is *the answer of a good conscience toward God*. But since the saving efficacy does not consist in the external washing ; infants, who are capable only of that, cannot be saved by baptism, nor reap any benefit by it : and we cannot suppose that Christ's words are contrary to these, which yet they must



be, if he meant that no children could enter into the kingdom of heaven unless they were baptized; for then it may be said of them, contrary to St. Peter, that the external washing does save them. The bishop of Salisbury speaks well to this passage, in his Exposition of the Articles, page 303.

These words of St. Peter are an impregnable fortress of antipædobaptism, and all the attempts of our adversaries against them hitherto have been unsuccessful, and will probably ever be so. Dr. Hammond § trifles upon them most egregiously, and supposes all grown persons should receive baptism with a good conscience, but infants may receive it without any conscience at all, notwithstanding this text makes conscience so necessary to the saving virtue of it.

Dr. Whitby, though directly opposing our argument from the words, did not think Dr. Hammond's pretences worth mentioning; but only observes, that St. Paul says as much of circumcision as St. Peter does here of baptism, viz. that *the true circumcision before God is not the outward circumcision of the flesh, but the internal circumcision of the heart and spirit*, Rom. ii. 29. 'But will any one hence argue,' says the doctor, 'that the Jewish infants for want of this were not to be admitted into covenant with God by circumcision? And yet the argument is plainly parallel.' But with submission to the doctor, I am of opinion the cases are not at all parallel. For the baptism which saves is expressly described and limited to be, 1. *Not the putting away the filth of the flesh*: but, 2. *The answer of a good conscience*. Whereas St. Paul's words do not

§ Six Queries, p. 198, 199.

import that the only circumcision which saved was, 1. *Not the circumcision of the flesh*: but, 2. *The circumcision of the heart and spirit*. Or however, there is certainly this difference, that St. Paul does not speak of circumcision while it continued in force, as under the dispensation of Moses; but only says that now, under this new dispensation of Jesus Christ, the only available circumcision is that of the heart: and it will be allowed that the outward circumcision is now of no use at all; *for in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by love*, Gal. v. 6, and vi. 15. St. Paul therefore is arguing against the necessity of external circumcision, and beating down the partition-wall of a Jewish rite; which cannot be said of St. Peter in relation to baptism. But if the arguings of the two apostles are supposed to be parallel, then St. Peter must be understood to mean, that persons need not be baptized with the outward baptism, if they do but keep the righteousness of the Gospel; and to plead for the uselessness of baptism, as St. Paul does of circumcision: whereas St. Paul does not deny but external circumcision might in some cases be sufficient under the old law, and therefore infants were then capable of that ceremony; though now, under the Gospel which requires circumcision of the heart, they are altogether unfit to be admitted to baptism, because altogether incapable of that internal circumcision, or of making that *answer of a good conscience*.

3. Another thing from whence it may appear infants are not intended, is, that this manner of speech is usual in Scripture, even when it is certain the things said cannot be required of infants,

nor indeed of any but those who have heard the word preached. Thus John vi. 53, with the same solemnity of asseveration our Lord says, *Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.* If we understand this of the sacramental supper, and take it as extensively as our adversaries do John iii. 5, then it absolutely denies that any who have never received the communion, whether infants or others, can be saved, or have eternal life, that is, *enter into the kingdom of glory*; or if we expound the words metaphorically, to signify believing in the Son of man, (which, I think, none can doubt to be the sense of them, after what Dr. Whitby has said with his usual solidity,) it is still as certain, by an interpretation of this latitude, that none who do not actually believe, can be saved. For as in one passage Christ makes it an indispensable condition of entering into the kingdom, to be *born again*; so here he makes it altogether as indispensable to *eat his flesh*, that is, to believe; and both in the same latitude. But since all will see it reasonable and necessary to except infants in one case, it is as reasonable to do so in the other.

The same may be argued from those other words of our Saviour after his resurrection, Mark xvi. 16, *He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.* If these words must be extended to all, and applied to every one, then no one person, no not any infant, can be saved without faith. And this would make the Scriptures contradictory; for according to the arguing of our antagonists, it is declared here that no infant, even though baptized, can ever be saved,

because it is impossible for him to understand and believe; which is directly opposite to their sense of John iii. 5. If it can be fancied that, if infants are but baptized here, it will be enough, because they may have more complete capacities in the next life, and then they will believe; I will only answer, that the same may equally be said of all mankind, for all will at the resurrection believe and own that Jesus is the Christ, and undoubtedly they will be very sorry for their former infidelity and disobedience; but this belief shall then have no other effect than it has now on the devils, to make them tremble: for the faith that is saving must take place while we are here, and work by love.

You must needs have observed many passages of this nature; and it would be endless to mention all. There are two, I remember, in the very same chapter with the words under consideration, which being so near may serve to shew us the bent of our Lord's discourse at that time, and to whom it referred; for he, who could speak no contradictions, says, verse 18, *He that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only-begotten Son of God.* The words, verse 5, cannot be thought more extensive than these, and both refer to the same subjects: but if in one place he means that infants may be saved by baptism, and yet presently after asserts none can be saved without believing in him, though they are baptized; how can this be made consistent? for this second condition is what infants are incapable of. He must therefore be understood in both places to speak of persons capable both of believing and being baptized.

In fine ; if we understand this in such like places with due regard to God's justice and equity, we shall truly say, they relate only to adult persons who have heard the Gospel preached ; for such, unless they believe and are baptized, cannot be saved. And therefore I must confess I think those persons are greatly to blame, who either oppose and abolish the use of baptism, or change it for what is not baptism : but God, who is merciful, knows their hearts. And we have great reason to hope, others shall be saved without either faith or baptism. Those who did not know their Master's will when they might have known it, were to be beaten with few stripes ; those then who could not know it shall doubtless receive no stripes at all, because they are, in that respect, guilty of no fault : and none of the damned shall have that excuse, to plead they could not possibly escape, and are damned of necessity, merely for want of knowledge, which they had not the means to attain : for this would be a most unworthy reflection on the best and kindest of beings.

4. Another thing which shews infants are not referred to in John iii. 5, is, that what is there said cannot be true of them. For as we are sure the holy angels, though not baptized with water, shall enter into the kingdom ; and therefore we say the words do not relate to them : so we may reasonably suppose all infants shall, whether baptized or not, enter into the kingdom of glory ; and therefore the words under consideration cannot relate to them neither. If there be any mercy in God, in him who is goodness itself, which the greatest impiety dares not doubt of ; then all infants, who could never

offend him, shall assuredly be saved. But if this be true, the sense our adversaries give of the words under consideration cannot be true; for then millions of infants shall not be saved. The only way to avoid so uncharitable an inference will be, to say the words do not concern infant-baptism at all. God our Saviour cannot ordain such unreasonable laws, nor infinite mercy make the happiness of any of his creatures to depend upon conditions that were impossible for them to perform. And Christ himself, our great Lawgiver and Oracle, has declared of infants in particular, that *of such is the kingdom of heaven*, Mark x. 14, even of unbaptized infants, for such were those he spoke of.

5. In the last place: there is something in the words themselves which does expressly limit them only to adult persons; for they require, that the subjects spoken of should be *born of the Spirit*, as well as of *water*. Which, not to enter into a long discourse upon it, certainly means, as the bishop of Salisbury has expressed it, ‘that except he were inwardly changed by a secret power called *the Spirit*, that should transform his nature, he could not enter into the kingdom of heaven<sup>b</sup>.’ For this sense is drawn from plain passages of Scripture. Our Lord himself, even in the next verse, explains it, *He that is born of the flesh is flesh*; that is, lives after the motions of the flesh: *but he that is born of the Spirit is spirit*; that is, strives to live according to the motions of the Spirit. So those who received Christ, and believed on his name, are said to be *born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God*, John i. 13. And again,

<sup>b</sup> Article xxvii. p. 301.

*Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin ;* and it is from that very principle that *he cannot sin because he is born of God*, 1 John iii. 9. And St. Paul expounds this matter somewhat largely, Rom. viii. where he sufficiently shews, that to be *born of the flesh*, is to be so subject to it as to mind the things of the flesh ; and to be *born of the Spirit*, is to be filled with such holy principles and inclinations, as to mind the things of the Spirit.

If then to be *born of the Spirit* signifies to be so influenced and wrought upon as to mind the things of the Spirit, or live after the motions of the Spirit, as all judicious divines and critics, Scaliger, Grotius, Le Clerc, &c., and even Dr. Hammond too, will allow ; and infants cannot possibly be so born of the Spirit : then that text, which requires the subjects it speaks of should be *born of the Spirit*, cannot speak of infants.

To evade this, Mr. Wall insinuates, that because it is and must be allowed that the Holy Spirit, ‘ besides his office of converting the heart, does seal ‘ and apply pardon of sin, and other promises of the ‘ covenant ;’ this is to be taken for all that is meant in the text by *born of the Spirit*. But as this is not confirmed by any text of Scripture, I leave you to judge whether it answers the force of the phrase : and I will conclude what I have said on this text with Dr. Whitby’s judicious observations upon it <sup>i</sup>.

1. ‘ Infants must be excepted from this necessity, ‘ as being incapable of knowing, and therefore of ‘ transgressing this command,’ &c.

2. ‘ They also are to be excepted who want that ‘ baptism they desire, not out of contempt, but of

<sup>i</sup> [See Whitby’s Annotations on John iii. 5.]

‘ necessity, as dying before they can procure it : thus  
 ‘ though the infant, who died before the eighth day,  
 ‘ died without the sign of the covenant, the Jews  
 ‘ never thought fit to circumcise them before that  
 ‘ day ; and since it is not the washing of the body,  
 ‘ but the stipulation of a good conscience that ren-  
 ‘ ders baptism saving, 1 Pet. iii. 21, it cannot be  
 ‘ purely the want, but the contempt of that, which  
 ‘ must condemn us.’ And,

3. ‘ Whatever ignorance of the precept, or mistake  
 ‘ about the nature of it, renders not men incapable  
 ‘ of baptism by the Holy Ghost, can never render  
 ‘ them incapable of the salvation promised to the  
 ‘ baptized.’

The next observation our author makes from St. Hermas’ words is grounded particularly on this, that St. Hermas represents the patriarchs and holy men before Christ as having need to be baptized, and actually being so in the life they are now in ; for his words are these : ‘ It was necessary for them  
 ‘ to come up by water, that they might be at rest ;  
 ‘ for they could not otherwise enter into the kingdom  
 ‘ of God, than by putting off the mortality of their  
 ‘ former life ; they therefore, after they were dead,  
 ‘ were sealed with the seal of the Son of God,’ &c. From whence Mr. Wall infers, that if baptism was in St. Hermas’ opinion so necessary to the salvation of these just men, as that they could not be saved without it, and therefore were baptized after their death in that separate state ; then he must needs have thought it as necessary for all other persons, and infants among the rest : and therefore the church of that time practised the baptism of infants.

But, what wild sort of logic is this ! for there is



no manner of connexion between the propositions. Suppose St. Hermas did think those persons were baptized in their separate state; it does not therefore follow, that he thought infants must be baptized in this: nor, if he did think so, that the church of that time practised pædobaptism; for St. Hermas gives not the least hint of that: and yet Mr. Wall pretends only to cite the Fathers in this dispute, as they relate, not to their own private opinions, but to the practice of the whole church. So that his way of arguing here has no tendency to the proposition he ought to prove; which, to say the best of it, is grounded on obscure uncertain parables, and very distant licentious inferences from them.

But to answer more distinctly.

1. St. Hermas is only describing a vision, to represent the building up of the church; and therefore every particular cannot be fairly understood in the letter; according to the known rule, ‘*Similitudes do not run on all four.*’ Thus our Saviour’s parable of the ten virgins with their lamps, is not to be understood, that ten virgins, five wise and five foolish, shall go forth to meet him at his second coming; the first five being well provided with oil, and having their lamps trimmed at the alarm: and the others being surprised, with their lamps unlighted and having no oil, and that they shall attempt to buy some, or the like. And though our Lord is pleased to represent his care and patience towards us, under the notion of the dresser of a vineyard, Luke xiii. 6, &c., no man can imagine he will literally dress and prune us, but only that he does in us what is equivalent to dressing and pruning to a vine.

Now these not being true histories, but only

figurative representations of something, I wonder Mr. Wall should use them otherwise. He knows the books he argues from are nothing but visions; and therefore, though it be ever so express that the patriarchs were baptized, it is no more to be understood in the letter, than the other things I have mentioned: they were baptized, that is, in vision only, not in deed. Or, if our author's way of arguing be just, it equally follows, that in the other world we must all be transformed into stones, and compose a lofty pile of building. But as this inference will not be allowed, so neither ought the other.

2. Besides, St. Hermas cannot be thought to mean those just persons were really baptized with material water; because, in the separate state they are in, their bodies being consumed, and that of them which remains alive being only spirit, they are utterly incapable of real baptism: for it is altogether inconceivable that spirits can be immersed in water. And as stones were not the persons, but only represented them; so their baptism was only a representation of something else. The passage therefore can do our author no manner of service; for it is only of material baptism we are disputing, not a visionary, nor a mystical one.

3. Though St. Hermas should be allowed to plead for the necessity of baptism to those just men, yet this has no relation to infant-baptism; nor does St. Hermas give any ground to imagine he had infants in his thoughts; he speaks only of adult persons, who had committed actual sins, from which he might suppose they needed to be washed. But it is no consequence, that it must be as necessary to

others that are not adult; no more than because it is useful to men, it must therefore be so to angels. Nay, on the contrary, he seems very plainly to exclude infants from being capable of receiving any benefit by baptism: for in this very passage he intimates, they were to be baptized for something done in their former life, which he calls 'the mortality of their former life; and he cannot be understood to mean any thing but the offences they had committed in that life. Infants therefore having no such mortality of a former life to account for, were not represented by St. Hermas to have been baptized: and since he makes baptism necessary to the patriarchs, &c. only on that account, it cannot possibly be applied to the case of infants.

It may be added also, that St. Hermas here makes it equally necessary to 'take up the name of the Son of God <sup>k</sup>.' And he likewise asserts, that 'it will avail nothing to take up the name of the Son of God, unless thou shalt also receive their (viz. the 'virgins') garments from them <sup>l</sup>.' Now the names of these virgins, he says, are 'faith, abstinence, power, patience, &c., whoever bears these names, and the name of the Son of God, shall enter into the kingdom <sup>m</sup>.' I suppose the least Mr. Wall understands by 'taking the name of the Son of God,' is, to be baptized; and then it is plain, St. Hermas declares baptism without *faith, abstinence, &c.*, will avail nothing, or is of no use at all: from whence it is manifest, not only that this passage cannot be improved for infant-baptism; but also, that it yields

<sup>k</sup> Lib. iii. Simil. 9. cap. 12.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid. cap. 13.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. cap. 15. Quicumque itaque portant hæc nomina, et nomen Filii Dei, in regnum Dei poterunt intrare.

a good argument against it: for if baptism signify nothing without those virtues, then to be sure St. Hermas did not think it of any use to infants, who have them not.

4. But in the last place, if St. Hermas should be thought to make baptism necessary to the salvation of infants; yet since he finds an expedient for the patriarchs, &c., who lived before Christ, to be baptized in their separate state, why may not we suppose he thought infants ought not to be baptized till they come into that separate state too? The patriarchs were supposed to receive baptism there, because they could not know and believe in Jesus here; and the same reason holds exactly as to infants. So that, after all, if our author's citation proves any thing in favour of infant-baptism, it is only, that they shall be baptized in the other world: but be this as it will, it is sufficient that they are not to be baptized here, which is all we insist on.

Mr. Wall cites another passage from St. Hermas<sup>a</sup>, which I had some time since noted as an instance against paedobaptism. It is strange that the same words should be cited to such contrary purposes. They are thus translated; 'All infants are valued by the Lord, and esteemed the first of all.' It is very dubious what infants are here meant, whether infants in age, or infants in Christianity; and what renders it so doubtful, is a sentence at the beginning of this chapter: 'such as have believed like sincere children' (it is *infantes* in the Latin). And since he here speaks of such infants as believed, he may perhaps afterwards too mean only such. Dr. Wake

<sup>a</sup> Part i. p. 6. [54.]

seems to have understood the passage so, by his supplying the word *such* ; and the words our author cites refer to *such* infants as were spoken of before.

But if they should refer to infants in age, as perhaps they may ; yet even then I do not see how they can be strained to signify that infants ought to be baptized. For here is no mention of baptism at all : and therefore unless our author can demonstrate for a general principle, that all persons whom God esteems ought to be baptized, it will be very difficult for any one to imagine how baptism can be deduced from hence. No man can see any necessary connection between God's love and baptism ; and the Scriptures nowhere furnish Mr. Wall with this piece of divinity. The holy angels are certainly highly esteemed and favoured by him ; but nobody pretends they ought therefore to be baptized. In like manner, Almighty God may have a great esteem for infants, and love them according to his infinite mercy and compassion, without requiring of them the ceremony of being baptized. At least, since St. Hermas nowhere confirms this supposition, that all whom God esteems ought to be baptized ; it must pass only for our author's own conjecture, which renders the argument from this place invalid ; for since both the premises are not St. Hermas', it is plain the conclusion is not his.

On the contrary, it is very natural to conclude from the words, that this Father neither held the necessity of infant-baptism, nor practised it ; for he says ' All infants,' without exception, as if they were all upon the same level, and therefore baptized or unbaptized, it matters not ; ' All are valued by the ' Lord, and esteemed the first of all,' merely as

they are infants, and therefore 'innocent'. And nowhere throughout his writings has he left the least intimation, that he ever once thought of the baptizing them. If he had known any thing of incorporating children into the church, it is strange in his representations of the several materials of which the church was built, that he should never give infants one place, but constantly neglect them; especially considering how exceeding nice and particular he is, and that he frequently had the fittest occasions in the world to introduce them. But besides this total silence in such cases, which is very considerable, this Father has several expressions which are as inconsistent with the notion of infant-baptism, as any thing can be. For instance, to mention but one, chap. xxxi. he says, 'And I say 'unto you all, whoever have received this seal, keep 'simplicity, and remember not affronts', &c. Now this instruction is given with the utmost latitude, doubly enforced both by an universal collective *all*, and then an universal distributive *whoever*; than which nothing can be more extensive. But the things mentioned there not falling within the power and cognizance of infants, it follows they cannot be intended, and that St. Hermas did not think them to be of their number who had, or ought to have, received the seal. It is not possible any inference should be more direct and necessary.

But to return back to Mr. Wall's management of the other citation. He supposes, 1. Christ's words,

° Lib. iii. cap. 31. [Simil. ix.]

P Dico autem omnibus vobis, quicumque sigillum hoc accepistis, simplicitatem habete, neque offensarum memores estote, &c.

Matth. xix. 14, *Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me ; for of such is the kingdom of heaven*, are a plain argument for infant-baptism. And, 2. that the words of St. Hermas are of the same import.

As to the words of our Lord, which Mr. Wall (with many other pædobaptists) so much perverts, if any thing is plain concerning them, it is, that they have no relation to baptism at all, nor to any thing necessarily connected with it. You know the story in the Gospel, and the circumstances of it ; but what is there, I beseech you, in the whole matter, which can make our adversaries fasten on this place ? It can only be the mention of children ; and they might as well have cited all the passages in Scripture where children are named.

But Mr. Wall does not reason from the words in Matt. xix. 14, but only cites them, as if they were very plain to his purpose ; and therefore we are to seek in other authors for the argument. Dr. Hammond<sup>9</sup> himself reckons this among the more imperfect ways of proving the point, and therefore our author should not so easily have taken it for granted. But Dr. Whitby is pleased to improve the passage to the utmost advantage ; and he being in general so very fair and sincere a writer, and comprehending the whole substance of what can be urged from the place, I will examine what he has said. .

His first and second observations ; namely, That they were infants in age who were brought to Christ ; and that they were brought by such as believed Christ to be a prophet sent from God ;—may be allowed : but the third thing, viz. That they

<sup>9</sup> Six Queries, p. 195.

were not brought to be healed of any diseases, cannot be easily granted : for though it is not expressly said, they were ; yet since it was the Lord's custom frequently to heal by laying on his hands, it is probable enough this was the design of those who brought them to him, though it is only said, they brought them to have his hands laid on them. The imposition of his hands could not well be the ultimate end, but only the intermediate, in order to something else ; which might be *healing*, for what appears, but cannot be supposed to be their being baptized. Or if Christ did not lay his hands on them to heal them, it was perhaps, as Origen puts it, ' They believed that no evil spirit could enter, ' nor any other misfortune befall those infants or ' children whom Christ had once touched, by reason ' of some virtue that was thereby communicated to ' them. And since the evil powers are continually ' lying in wait to corrupt men's minds from the ' beginning ; I am of opinion, that they who brought ' the children to Christ, seeing his mighty power, ' brought them to him, that by laying his hands ' on them, &c., by means of the touch (*διὰ τῆς ἀφῆς*) ' every evil might be expelled', &c.

There is therefore no necessity to suppose so readily, that they were brought to receive spiritual blessings ; for, what spiritual blessings could they receive ? Not remission of sins, says the doctor ; for the Jews did not think them guilty of any ; and we never find hands were laid on any for that purpose. But it was, says he, ' to obtain for them some ' ritual blessing appertaining to the kingdom of ' ' What spiritual blessing this could be, or on

<sup>r</sup> In Matth. p. 373. B.



what grounds it is asserted, I see not; and the doctor gives no reason for it. But he puts another supposition borrowed from Dr. Lightfoot, that Christ laid his hands on them, 'to own them as belonging to 'his kingdom.' But this could not be the meaning of it, both because we nowhere find this ceremony used for this purpose; and he had just before declared, *of such is the kingdom of heaven*, before *he took them in his arms, and laid his hands on them*. The laying on of his hands therefore must be for some other end.

Besides, if they were capable of spiritual blessings, as undoubtedly they are of being saved by Christ, what is all this to infant-baptism? Will it follow, that because they may be happy hereafter, they must be baptized here? Many infants shall, and all may, be saved without being baptized. And there is a great deal to this purpose comprehended in our Saviour's saying, *of such*, speaking even of unbaptized infants, *is the kingdom of heaven*.

The fourth observation the doctor is pleased to make, is particularly on these words, *for of such is the kingdom of heaven*: from whence he thinks it may reasonably be collected, 'that there is something in little children, why they should not be 'hindered from coming to him, besides their being 'emblems of humility;' and this he supposes can be nothing 'but the fitness of them to be early dedicated to the service of God, and to enter into 'covenant with him by the rites appointed by him 'for that end.' But though it will be readily allowed, that infants are capable of receiving the kingdom, it can in no wise follow, that this means nothing else but their fitness to enter into covenant. This is directly begging the question, If by *king-*

*dom of heaven* were meant the church of Christ, there might indeed be some greater colour for the doctor's way of arguing: but if it means only the *kingdom of glory*, as it plainly does, then the doctor's argument is grounded on a mistake; for though infants are subjects of the kingdom of glory, it will not on that account appear necessary for them to be baptized, in order to qualify them for that glory: on the contrary, it rather follows, since as infants they are subjects of that kingdom, they have no need of this ceremony to give them a right which they have already.

The right reverend bishop of Salisbury says, that 'whatever these words may signify mystically, the literal meaning of them is, that little children may be admitted into the dispensation of the Messiah; and by consequence, that they may be baptized'.<sup>s</sup> Thus his lordship seems to make it a plain case; but I cannot perceive how the words have any relation to children's being received into that dispensation at all. *The kingdom of heaven* can in no wise mean so here, though it be true, as his lordship says, this is the sense of the words almost universally through the whole Gospel: for St. Mark has preserved some of our Lord's words on that occasion, which make it necessary to understand thereby the *kingdom of glory*: thus chap. x. 15, our Lord says, *Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein*; that is, into glory; for into the church the greatest villains may be admitted, if they conceal their wickedness; so that he must mean, they shall not enter into his glorious kingdom. Besides, if the

<sup>s</sup> Articles, p. 307.

kingdom did mean the church, how does it appear infants were to be admitted into it by baptism? Baptism is the only way of admitting adult persons, but is nowhere prescribed to infants. I should rather imagine from the words, that if infants are to be admitted at all, by any ceremony, it must be only by laying on of hands, and by prayer; for neither our Lord's words, nor his actions, give us room to think of any other.

And if this way of arguing be good, it may equally be urged, that infants ought to be communicated too; for if, because *of such is the kingdom of heaven*, they may therefore be admitted into the dispensation of the Messiah, and consequently have a right to the privileges and sacraments of it, they must have a right to the supper as well as to baptism. But his lordship, and our adversaries, do refuse them one; and we beg leave to refuse them the other for the very same reasons, viz. because they are not capable of it, nor of the conditions which the church of England itself confesses are required of persons to be baptized, viz. *faith and repentance*.

Since then there is nothing in Christ's words for the practice of the pædobaptists; the passage of St. Hermas, which our author compares with these words of Christ, cannot be thought to prove by any supposed affinity between them, that St. Hermas, or the church of that time, knew any thing of infant-baptism. Besides, I have not only shewn the arguments from the writings of the Fathers hitherto have no reference to it; but also, as far as things of this nature can be shewn, that all of them to this time, namely, for about a hundred years after

Christ's birth, believed nothing at all of it, for what they say is very inconsistent with that practice. In my next, I will also examine what is said from St. Justin and others, in the order in which Mr. Wall has placed them.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

## LETTER XII.

WHAT Mr. Wall produces from the writings of the second century examined—A passage in St. Justin considered—It makes nothing for infant-baptism—Neither does it speak of original sin, as our author pretends—Mr. Wall has perverted the words—His translation of them unintelligible—'Ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ means from Adam—Another misconstruction noted—The phrase explained by a passage in Dionysius Halicarnassæus; and another in Thucydides—Another passage from St. Justin considered—He does not call baptism *circumcision*—He could not mean baptism by the spiritual circumcision he speaks of—What he understands by spiritual circumcision—Other writers of the primitive church talk in the same manner—Coloss. ii. 11, 12. considered—The Scripture nowhere calls baptism *circumcision*—The words in themselves are not capable of the sense our adversaries give them—The ancients did not call baptism the circumcision without hands, as Mr. Wall pretends—Mr. Wall's argument from the parallel between circumcision and baptism, shewn to be groundless—The principle on which it is founded, evidently false—Some of the consequences of it: as that baptism must be administered only on the eighth day; that females must not be baptized—As the apostles did not make circumcision their rule in relation to baptism, so neither should we—Another passage from St. Justin—It is not to be imagined he should forbear to mention infant-baptism, if it had been then practised—Or however, he ought not to have spoken so as is inconsistent with that practice—The passage is directly against infant-baptism—The reason why Mr. Wall cites this passage, though he confesses it makes nothing for infant-baptism—The first reason makes against him—His next reason, that regeneration is put for baptism, groundless—St. Justin never understands regeneration so—Baptism not regeneration, but the symbol of it—The third reason contradicts his former assertion—Another passage from St. Justin—Which Mr. Wall draws to his side by a very unfair translation—'Ἐκ παιδῶν signifies from their childhood—Illustrated by instances from Cicero; from Laetius; from Plato; from Plutarch; from

Origen; from Theophilus Antiochenus; from the Scriptures—Mr. Wall himself translates a passage of St. Basil thus on another occasion—The famous passage from St. Irenæus considered—It is not genuine—Cardinal Baronius observes, the latter part of the chapter contradicts the beginning—Petavius' answer to this proves nothing—The author of the last part of the chapter attempts to confirm a manifest falsehood, by the authority of the ancients from St. John, which St. Irenæus could never have done—Mr. Dodwell's pretence, that St. John, &c., judged of our Lord's age by his countenance, too weak and groundless—They could not but know the time of our Lord's birth more exactly—St. Irenæus could not think Christ arrived to near so much as his fortieth year: the contrary being so evident from the censual rolls then in being, and from the disputes with the adversaries of the Christian religion—Nay, it appears from St. Irenæus' own words, that he was not in so gross an error—He fixes the time of the Lord's birth—The time of his passion computed; from the destruction of Jerusalem; from the time of Pontius Pilate's government, and Tiberius' reign—Mr. Dodwell's attempt to excuse the extravagance of this spurious passage, wholly useless—Besides, the passage is taken only from a very bad translation; as learned men confess: viz. Scaliger; Du Pin; Mr. Dodwell; Dr. Grabe—This may also appear, by comparing it with the remaining fragments of the original—Again, the word *regenerated* in this passage does not mean baptized—The Jews did not give rise to this way of speaking—The Scripture notion of regeneration—John iii. 5. considered—The regeneration there mentioned consists in the operations of the Spirit, of which baptism is the sign and seal—And this appears from our Lord's own words following—Titus iii. 5. considered—That the ancients never mean baptism, but an internal change by regeneration, shewn from Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, Origen, Clemens Romanus, St. Barnabas: and St. Irenæus nowhere uses the word, as our author pretends he always does—The inference from these observations—A contradiction of Mr. Wall's—Another exception to the passage cited from St. Irenæus, is, that *infantes* does not necessarily mean such young children as the pædobaptists admit to baptism—*Omnis ætas* does not always include

infants, as appears by an instance from St. Cyprian; the Recognitions; Dionysius of Alexandria—Nor does the enumeration of the several ages make it necessary to understand such infants as are not capable of reason—Infancy, according to St. Irenæus himself, reaches to ten years of age; as Mr. Dodwell also thinks—The inference—Persons under ten capable of instruction and baptism—Recapitulation and conclusion.

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SIR,

THE first century of Christianity I have already dispatched, and am now to examine the second.

Mr. Wall begins with St. Justin the Martyr, who lived about anno Christi 140; but the pieces he cites of this Father were all writ after 150, so that he passes over half the second century without any attempt upon it, and therefore I conclude that at least for one hundred and fifty years after Christ infant-baptism was not known in the world, or however, that our adversaries are not able to prove it was.

The first passage our author cites, is out of the Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, which he says is ‘only to shew, that in these times so very near the ‘apostles, they spake of original sin affecting all ‘mankind descended of Adam; and understood that ‘besides the actual sins of each particular person, ‘there is in our nature itself, since the fall, some- ‘thing that needs redemption and forgiveness by ‘the merits of Christ<sup>a</sup>.’ But this does not concern the baptizing of infants, and therefore Mr. Wall adds of his own, ‘And that is ordinarily [to be] ‘applied to every particular person by baptism;’ which signifies nothing, unless he can shew it is

<sup>a</sup> Part i. p. 13. [64.]

St. Justin's assertion. He is to prove, that St. Justin and the church in his time thought so, and not to suppose they did; nor is it sufficient to say the Scripture teaches it, for the question here immediately is, not what the Scriptures teach, but what St. Justin teaches; though by the way the Scripture no more teaches that our Saviour's merits are to be applied to any persons by baptism, than it does that his merits must be applied by faith or by the supper in which the cup is the *new covenant in his blood*. St. Justin's expressions therefore are of no force, unless he had gone upon our author's principle, which he does not appear to have done.

All that can be urged from his mentioning original sin, I have fully answered before<sup>b</sup>. Besides, it is much to be questioned, whether St. Justin, and most of the ancients of the first centuries, believed the notion. Mr. Wall has very much perverted the words of this passage, to make them speak to his purpose, and given such a translation of them as no schoolboy would have made. Whether he did it out of ignorance or inadvertency, I shall not determine.

The place, I think, should be rendered thus: 'As also, neither did he submit to be born and crucified, as being under any necessity to do it; but he did this for mankind, which from (not *by*) Adam was fallen under death and the guile of the serpent, by their own act and deed, every one having done wickedly<sup>c</sup>.' This makes the passage

<sup>b</sup> Page 424, &c.

<sup>c</sup> Dialog. cum Tryph. p. 315, 316. "Ὡσπερ οὐδὲ τοῦ γεννηθῆναι αὐτὸν καὶ σταυρωθῆναι, ὡς ἐνδεῆς τούτων, ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ γίνους τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὃ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ ὑπὸ θάνατον καὶ πλάνη



rather opposite to the doctrine of original sin, than in favour of it. Mr. Wall's translation is hardly intelligible; 'But he did this for mankind, which  
' by Adam was fallen under death, and the guile of  
' the serpent, beside the particular cause which each  
' man had of sinning.'

But you see, as I have rendered it, the sense is very natural and easy. And that St. Justin meant as I understand him, appears from the words immediately following those already transcribed: 'For  
' God willing that all angels and men should be  
' free agents, and that their actions should be deter-  
' mined by their own free choice—that if they  
' did what was pleasing to him, they might be kept  
' incorruptible and free from punishment; but if  
' they did wickedly, he might punish every one  
' according to his pleasure<sup>d</sup>.' Now to say here, that every man was designed by God to stand upon his own bottom, and to connect this by the illative particle *for*, to another sentence wherein he says all fell in Adam, is so great an absurdity, that we cannot, with any good manners, suppose St. Justin to be guilty of it: for nothing can be more contradictory, than to say all are sinners, in or by Adam, and yet that none are sinners but by their own free choice and action.

Besides, it is necessary to understand St. Justin as I have done, even from the propriety of the *τὴν τοῦ ὀφείως ἐπεπτάκει, παρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν αἰτίαν ἑκάστου αὐτῶν πονηρευσαμένου.* [Sect. 88. edit. Benedict.]

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. p. 316. Α. Βουλόμενος γὰρ τούτους ἐν ἐλευθέρᾳ προαιρέσει, καὶ αὐτεξουσίους γενομένους, τοὺς τε ἀγγέλους καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὁ Θεὸς πράττειν ὅσα ἑκαστον ἐνεδυνάμωσε δύνασθαι ποιεῖν, ἐποίησεν· εἰ μὲν τὰ εὐάρεστα αὐτῷ αἰροῖντο, καὶ ἀφθάρτους καὶ ἀτιμωρήτους αὐτοὺς τηρῆσαι· ἐὰν δὲ πονηρεύσωνται, ὡς αὐτῷ δοκεῖ ἑκαστον κολάζειν. [ibid.]

phrase he makes use of. That ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ means *from Adam*, and not, as our author renders it, *by Adam*, might be proved from an infinite number of instances; but I need only mention Rom. v. 14, where we find exactly the same phrase, in the very same sense too, which makes it not improbable that St. Justin had his eye upon this very place, and alludes to it, *Death reigned from Adam*, that is, in St. Justin's words, 'Mankind from Adam was 'fallen under death,' &c. But the sense Mr. Wall would put upon ἀπὸ is several times in this chapter expressed by διὰ; thus ver. 9, *We shall be saved from wrath through him*, (δι' αὐτοῦ) and ver. 10, *We were reconciled to God by* (διὰ) *the death of his Son*, and ver. 11, (δι' οὗ) *By whom we have now received the atonement*; and in the next verse it is said not ἀπὸ, but δι' ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου, *By one man sin entered into the world*, &c., by which it is evident, that ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ and διὰ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ mean different things.

As to the other misconstruction of St. Justin's words, which I think Mr. Wall has made, it is not only very considerable, in that it makes St. Justin speak inconsistently, and so as not to be understood, but it is plain also, to all who have any tolerable skill in the Greek, that παρὰ, which Mr. Wall here renders *beside*, ought to be rendered *for, by, because of*, &c. Thus that common phrase, παρ' οὗ, signifies *for which reason*, or the like; so Dionysius Halicarnassæus says<sup>e</sup>, παρ' οὗ, 'for which reason also 'the things mentioned in the epilogue are called 'exclamations.' In his Roman Antiquities, he has

<sup>e</sup> Ars Rhetoric. cap. x. §. 18. Παρ' οὗ καὶ ἐπιφωνήματα καλοῦσι τὰ ἐν ἐπιλόγοις λεγόμενα.

the very phrase of St. Justin; and the occasion will convince you, that it must be understood as I have translated it. Siccus Dentatus, an experienced commander, accompanied Romilius the consul, with a band of eight hundred veterans, against the Æqui. In this expedition, Romilius, in order to sacrifice this great man to his ambition and envy, sends him with his veterans to attack the enemy, under such disadvantages as they must necessarily have been all cut to pieces. Siccus undertakes the attempt, but leads his men, unknown to the general, another way, and so falling upon the enemy unexpectedly, while the two armies were engaged, gave them a total overthrow. Siccus at his return to Rome relates the whole story to the tribune and people, with the consul's design upon them, 'and that it was by his own valour and conduct (*παρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν Ἀρετὴν*, says Dionysius) and of those who were with him, whom the consul had designed for destruction, that the enemy's camp was taken<sup>f</sup>;' &c. It is plain here, from the circumstances of the story, that *παρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν* means *by their own*, in opposition to another's; and so too it should in St. Justin signify *by their own fault*, in opposition to another's. There is another instance to the same purpose in Thucydides, where the sense is much the same as in St. Justin, though the expression is something varied. Pericles is setting forth the inconveniences of the divided state, and consequently the weakness of the Peloponnesians: 'Some

<sup>f</sup> Dionys. Halicarnass. Antiq. Rom. lib. x. p. 641. Καὶ ὅτι παρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβυτέρων ὀκτακοσίων ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ἀποθανομένους ἀπίστευαν οἱ ὕπατοι, τε χάραξ ὁ τῶν Αἰκανῶν ἐλήφθη, &c. [cap. 47.]

‘indeed,’ says he, ‘are for prosecuting their revenge with the utmost application, but others are fearful lest they prejudice their own particular affairs: and when, after a thousand delays, they are at last got together, they can bestow but a very little time on the common good; for they have none to spare from their own particular concerns. And every one fancies the public will suffer nothing by his neglect (*παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀμέλειαν*᾽).’ This is exactly as St. Justin says, all men are fallen under death, *παρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν αἰτίαν*, ‘by their own particular fault.’

The next passage of St. Justin which our author uses, is in the same dialogue, where he meets with some expressions, from whence he ventures to infer, though very unfairly, that St. Justin thought baptism was to Christians instead of circumcision, and therefore like that ought to be administered to infants. The holy martyr, arguing against the ceremonies of the law, takes occasion to oppose to the carnal circumcision that which is spiritual: ‘And this, we being sinners, through God’s mercy have received,’ says he, ‘by baptism; and every one is permitted to receive it in the same way.’ But if Mr. Wall’s conclusion from hence is fair, I do not know what is otherwise. For,

1. What can be more evident than that he does not say baptism is the Christian circumcision, but only that Christians receive the spiritual circumci-

ἡ De Bell. Peloponnesiac. lib. i. cap. 141. Καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ὡς μάλιστα τιμωρήσασθαι τινα βούλονται, οἱ δὲ, ὡς ἤκιστα τὰ οἰκεία φθεῖραι. Χρόνιοι τε ξυνιόντες, ἐν βραχεὶ μὲν μορίῳ σκοποῦσί τι τῶν κοινῶν, τῇ δὲ πλείονι τὰ οἰκεία πράσσουσι. Καὶ ἕκαστος οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀμέλειαν οἶεται βλάψειν, &c.

sion, whatever it is, by baptism? which is far from saying, baptism itself is it. By baptism we receive the remission of our sins; but how absurd would it be therefore to say, remission of sins is nothing else but baptism? What we receive, is not the instrument or medium by which we receive it. We receive all things by the mercy of God in Christ; and yet those things are not that divine perfection we call the mercy of God, but only the effects and consequences of it. In like manner, we are not to abuse St. Justin and his words so much as to fancy he meant, that the spiritual circumcision he says we receive by baptism, is baptism itself. Nay,

2. He plainly shews he meant no such thing: for the circumcision which he opposes to the Jewish in the flesh, he expressly says is that ‘which Enoch, ‘and those like him, observed;’ and yet he says, we have received the same by baptism. No man sure can really think he means only baptism by all this; for when, where, and by whom, was Enoch baptized?

And the martyr often talks directly contrary to our author’s gloss; of which I will produce some instances, to let you see how much Mr. Wall misrepresents him. Thus he distinguishes between baptism and the Christian circumcision, when he explains, *Wash you, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings*, Isaiah i. 16, and says, ‘God ‘commands you to wash with this laver, and to be ‘circumcised with the true circumcision<sup>b</sup>.’ The true

<sup>b</sup> Dialog. p. 235. D. Λούσασθε οὖν, καὶ νῦν καθαροὶ γένησθε, καὶ ἀφέλεσθε τὰς πονηρίας ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν. ὡς δὲ λούσασθαι ὑμῖν τοῦτο τὸ λουτρὸν κελεύει ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ περιτέμνεσθαι τὴν ἀληθινὴν περιτομήν. [sect. 18.]

circumcision answers here directly to the putting away the evil of their doings, and not to their washing. As washing and putting away the evil, &c., are two different things; so baptism, which according to St. Justin answers to one, and circumcision, which answers to the other, must be different likewise: and what the true circumcision consists in, the following words of Isaiah teach us, *cease to do evil*, ver. 17, *learn to do well, seek judgment, relieve the oppressed*, &c. And if all this is included in the true circumcision, according to St. Justin, how can any one say he took baptism to be that circumcision? and which he afterwards calls *our circumcision* <sup>1</sup>?

In another place he says, 'Let a man be a Scythian or a Persian, if he receive the knowledge of God and his Christ, and observe the eternal rules of justice, he is circumcised with an excellent and useful circumcision <sup>k</sup>,' &c. And in the very next page before that which our author takes his citation from, we have this description of the true circumcision. 'The precept of circumcision, which commands to circumcise infants on the eighth day, was but a type of that true circumcision with which we are circumcised from error and wickedness, by him who rose from the dead the first day of the week; Jesus Christ our Lord <sup>l</sup>.' And again, 'He

<sup>1</sup> Dialog. p. 236. C. [sect. 19.]

<sup>k</sup> Ibid. p. 246. A. [sect. 28.]

<sup>l</sup> Dialog. p. 260. C. 'Ἡ δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς περιτομῆς, κελεύουσα τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ παντὸς περιτέμνειν τὰ γεννώμενα, τύπος ἦν τῆς ἀληθινῆς περιτομῆς ἣν περιετμήθημεν ἀπὸ τῆς πλάνης καὶ πονηρίας διὰ τοῦ ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντος τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέρᾳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν. [sect. 41.]

‘ (viz. Joshua) is said in the second circumcision  
 ‘ to circumcise the people with knives of stone,  
 ‘ (Josh. v. 2, &c.) which signifies this circumcision  
 ‘ wherewith Jesus Christ has circumcised us, from  
 ‘ the worshipping of stones and idols.—We are  
 ‘ circumcised from the deceitfulness of this world  
 ‘ with knives of stone, that is, by the word of our  
 ‘ Lord Jesus.—By knives of stone we are to under-  
 ‘ stand the doctrine of Christ ; by which so many  
 ‘ of the uncircumcised, who were once deceived,  
 ‘ are now circumcised with the circumcision of the  
 ‘ heart<sup>m</sup>,’ &c. And, in the next page, ‘ Happy are  
 ‘ we who are circumcised with knives of stone in  
 ‘ this second circumcision :—But our circumcision,  
 ‘ which is the second, and takes place after yours,  
 ‘ is performed with sharp stones ; that is, by the  
 ‘ doctrines of the chief corner stone preached by  
 ‘ the apostles, who was cut out without hands, and  
 ‘ has circumcised us from idolatry and all manner  
 ‘ of evil. Whose hearts are so circumcised from all  
 ‘ wickedness<sup>n</sup>,’ &c.

And whatever may be pretended, the primitive church generally talk after the same manner ; Irenæus uses almost the same words, and tells us, ‘ The circumcision in the flesh prefigured the circumcision of the heart<sup>o</sup>.’ And Origen, without

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. p. 341. A. [sect. 113.]

<sup>n</sup> Dialog. p. 342. A. Μακάριοι οὖν ἡμεῖς οἱ περιτμηθέντες πετρίναις μαχαίραις τὴν δευτέραν περιτομήν.—ἡμῶν δὲ ἡ περιτομή, ἦτις δευτέρα ἀριθμῶ, μετὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν φανερωθεῖσα, διὰ λίθων ἀκροτόμων, τουτέστι, διὰ τῶν λόγων τῶν διὰ ἀποστόλων τοῦ ἀκρογωνιαίου λίθου, καὶ τοῦ ἀνευ χειρῶν τμηθέντος, περιτέμνει ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τε εἰδωλολατρίας καὶ πάσης ἀπλῶς κακίας. Ὡς αἱ καρδίαι οὕτως, &c. [sect. 114.]

<sup>o</sup> Advers. Hæres. lib. iv. cap. 30. p. 319. a. Secundum carnem circumcisio circumcisionem præfigurabat spiritalem.

any mention of baptism, says, 'He who lays aside  
 ' his false notions and evil imaginations, circumcises  
 ' the foreskin of his heart<sup>p</sup>.' There is a great deal  
 more to this purpose in the same place, which I will  
 not transcribe. Tertullian, in like manner, without  
 giving the least intimation that baptism is the  
 Christian circumcision, which succeeds in the stead  
 of that in the flesh, says, 'As therefore the carnal  
 ' circumcision, which was but for a time, was given  
 ' for a sign to a stubborn and rebellious people ;  
 ' so the spiritual is given for the salvation of the  
 ' obedient, as the prophet Jeremiah says, *Circumcise*  
 ' *yourselves to the Lord, and take away the foreskins*  
 ' *of your hearts*<sup>q</sup>,' chap. iv. 4. And so Lactantius  
 says, 'And the Lord said to Jesus or Joshua, Make  
 ' thee sharp knives, and circumcise again the children  
 ' of Israel the second time; foreshewing there was to  
 ' be another circumcision, not of the flesh, as was  
 ' the first, which the Jews still practise ; but of the  
 ' heart and spirit, which is given by Christ the true  
 ' Jesus<sup>r</sup>.' You see, sir, he expressly says the second  
 circumcision 'is not of the flesh;' but baptism is  
 plunging the flesh into water, and is therefore of the

<sup>p</sup> Homil. v. in Hierem. p. 86. D. 'Ο ἀποτιθέμενος τὴν ψευδοδοξίαν, περιτέμνεται τὴν ἀκροβυστίαν τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ, &c. [Sect. 15. edit. Benedict.]

<sup>q</sup> Advers. Judæos, p. 186. A. Sicut ergo circumcisio carnalis, quæ temporalis erat, tributa est in signum populo contumaci, ita spiritalis data est in salutem populo obaudienti, dicente propheta Hieremia; innovate vobis novitatem, &c. [cap. 4.]

<sup>r</sup> De vera Sapientia, lib. iv. p. 405. Et dixit Dominus ad Jesum; fac tibi cultellos petrinus nimis acutos, &c. Secundam circumcisionem futuram esse dixit, non carnis; sicut fuit prima, qua etiam nunc Judæi utuntur; sed cordis, ac spiritus, quam tradidit Christus, qui verus Jesus fuit. [cap. 17.]



flesh, and cannot be the second circumcision. There is no colour of reason therefore for any to pretend that the ancients, and particularly St. Justin, ever imagined baptism succeeds to us instead of circumcision.

But here our author, after his usual method, compares St. Justin's words with a place of Scripture, which is as wrongly applied as the rest. 'It (the 'passage of St. Justin) is to the same sense,' says our author, 'as is that saying of St. Paul, where he 'calls baptism, with the putting off the body of the 'sins of the flesh, which attends it, the circumcision 'of Christ<sup>a</sup>.' And here he cites Coloss. ii. 11, 12. But it is a great mistake to say, St. Paul, by circumcision here, means baptism. For,

1. The Scriptures nowhere call baptism circumcision, nor afford us any ground to imagine so; and to say that baptism is intended by it here, is saying a thing at pleasure, and offering as great violence to the words as can well be imagined. For something very different from the washing of the body in water is frequently in Scripture called circumcision, and opposed to the legal circumcision of the Jews; and the Scriptures speak of no circumcision, but either that under the law in the flesh, or the spiritual in the heart, &c. Even the prophets under the Jewish œconomy mention this circumcision, as well as the writers of the New Testament.

Now if baptism is never called circumcision in Scripture; but something else, viz. purity of heart, &c., is frequently so called; how natural and necessary does it appear to understand the circumcision, Coloss. ii. 11, to mean, not baptism, but purity of heart, &c.? For the analogy of Scripture has always

<sup>a</sup> Part i. p. 13. [65.]

been thought the chief rule of interpretation, and I think our adversaries can fortify their exposition by no argument from reason, nor so much as one single text of Scripture. But,

2. In the next place, the words themselves effectually exclude that acceptation ; for they so particularly characterise the circumcision there spoken of, that it cannot be questioned what is meant by it ; and I am amazed to see that men of so much sense and learning as many of the pædobaptists are, can (notwithstanding all the care St. Paul has taken to be understood) mistake his meaning. The circumcision Christians are to regard, he says, is *made without hands* ; now baptism is not *made without hands*, and therefore cannot be this circumcision, unless he resolves all into the Quaker's internal baptism only. This circumcision is opposed to the Jewish in this respect, particularly, that theirs was made *with hands*, and this *without* ; but if he meant baptism, it can no more be said to be made without hands than the Jews' circumcision in the flesh ; and therefore the Christian circumcision here intended must have this difference from the Jewish, that it cannot be any thing external or relating to the flesh, any further than it is, as St. Paul afterwards says, *by putting off the body of the sins of the flesh* ; and serves to explain yet more particularly wherein this circumcision made without hands consists, viz. in such internal operations of God's holy Spirit on the mind of man, whereby the heart is purified from inward filth and evil inclinations. This is sometimes expressed by putting off the old man, and putting on the new, Ephes. iv. 22, and Coloss. iii. 9, 10. and this, you know, is the circumcision St. Paul

commonly opposes to the Jewish ; as Gal. vi. 15, where arguing against the laws being then in force, he says, *Neither circumcision availeth any thing nor uncircumcision, but a new creature.* And again, Rom. ii. 29, *Circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit.* Since then St. Paul so plainly specifies the circumcision here meant, and characterises it by such marks as agree only to the internal one of the heart ; and withal constantly opposes this circumcision of the heart to the Jewish, and never mentions a third : what can incline any man, contrary to the analogy of Scripture, the particular signs expressed in the words, and without any necessity, to impose this strange sense on this single place of St. Paul ?

The circumcision here called Christian, must be either wholly internal or wholly external, or partly both. It cannot be partly internal and partly external, (which our author pretty plainly asserts,) because, if it consists of these two parts, one whereof may be performed without hands, and the other not, it cannot be called circumcision without hands ; for, in order to make it complete, another part is necessary which must be performed with hands, and what is true of any one part cannot be denied of the whole ; and therefore if the Christian circumcision does but partly consist of what must be performed with hands, it is not a circumcision without hands, which is directly contrary to St. Paul's assertion. And our adversaries will grant, this circumcision cannot be wholly external : it remains therefore that it must be a circumcision wholly internal, and consequently it cannot be baptism.

Here Mr. Wall tells us, the ancients were wont to call baptism the circumcision done without hands.

By this information doubtless he hopes to persuade some that St. Paul calls it so too, because the inward part was performed without hands. Does Mr. Wall mean, that for this reason the outward part was called circumcision without hands? If he does not mean so, he trifles, for it is of the outward ceremony we are disputing; and if he does mean so, we have a greater deference for St. Paul than to think he talks at such a rate, and a more honourable opinion of the ancients than to suppose they could be so grossly absurd as to say, the external ceremony of baptism was performed without hands. The passages of the ancients our author refers to I have consulted particularly, and I am sure they say no such thing.

Besides, if they, and even St. Paul too, did commonly speak of baptism as Mr. Wall pretends, how does this affect infant-baptism? Which way can he contrive an inference to prove from thence that infants are to be baptized? It must be thus: if baptism succeeds to us instead of circumcision, then it follows, as infants were ordered under the law to receive the Jewish circumcision, so now, though it be not ordered, they must be circumcised under the Gospel, with the Christian circumcision; that is, they must be baptized. I have proposed the argument very fairly; and yet you may observe, sir, how plainly it points us to the solution which is contained in it. For there is this difference however, that infants were ordered to be circumcised under Moses; but were not ordered to be circumcised, that is, baptized, under Christ: therefore I answer, under Moses they ought to be circumcised, because it was expressly ordered; but under Christ,

they are not to be baptized, because it is not ordered. So great a difference in the two institutions should be thought enough to justify so necessary a difference in the practice. For the parallel between circumcision and baptism failing in this particular, the argument drawn from it, which cannot extend beyond the parallel it is founded on, must also fail.

But farther: the principle upon which the pædo-baptists go in arguing from this topic, must be this; that what was done and observed in respect to circumcision under the law, must be done and observed now in respect to baptism under the Gospel. If any plain intimation could be found, that infants particularly are to be initiated now by baptism, as formerly they were by circumcision, the dispute would be at an end, and we need go no farther back: but since there is no such particular instruction, the whole must at last depend upon the general principle mentioned.

Now if this be false, as no man that reads it can deny but it is, then all that is built upon it must of course fall to the ground.

Some of the consequences of this principle are these:

1. Circumcision was to be performed on the eighth day precisely; it was not to be deferred longer upon any pretence, nor to be administered before, though in the utmost danger of death: accordingly, the Jews suffered their children to die uncircumcised rather than do it before the time. Baptism therefore, by this rule, must be always administered on the eighth day precisely, and neither before nor after on any account whatever.

And yet this is contrary to the opinion and practice of the pædobaptists.

2. But what more immediately affects our present dispute, is to observe, that the females were not to be circumcised, and therefore now they are not to be baptized; for those only, who were to be circumcised then, are the subjects of baptism now: and this is not only the principle our antagonists go upon, but their very argument too. And therefore, if it proves infants are proper subjects from the analogy, it equally proves the male infants only are proper subjects. If one was to follow the argument in every particular, what confused work would it make!

In a word, then, it undoubtedly follows, that whatever principle leads to such wild, extravagant conclusions, is absurd, and ought to be disowned.

But now, if Mr. Wall and the pædobaptists will grant, that we are not to judge from the subjects of circumcision, precisely to those of baptism, they give up their own argument; or if they will stand by this argument, they must deny baptism to females. But I know they will depart from the rule in these cases, and we claim the same allowance to depart from it in the other too.

But they will tell us, the apostles varied in these and such like particulars, which is warrant enough for them to do so too: they baptized not males only, but females also, men and women. All this is very true; and the apostles varied also in another particular, viz. that whereas infants were used to be circumcised, they admitted none but the adult to baptism. And hence we infer, that they did not

make circumcision their pattern in any thing relating to baptism: why then should our adversaries plead for any agreement between these two symbols, only in this circumstance? For they allow the apostles observed no agreement between them in any other particular. And does it not at last from all plainly appear, that it is with the greatest reason we assert the Scripture and ancient Christians do not pretend to run a parallel between circumcision and baptism; and that, if they had in some respects, it could not be concluded from thence that infants are to be baptized? All the objections and pretences about circumcision therefore must be manifestly invalid; and I am persuaded, if the clergy themselves were to consider the matter more deliberately, they would be ashamed of all they have urged from this head.

Let us proceed now to our author's next citation from St. Justin, which is that part of the first Apology, wherein the martyr gives the Roman emperor an account of the Christian initiation by baptism. It is too long to be transcribed: you may read it in St. Justin himself, or in Mr. Wall's history; for it is a noble piece of antiquity, and indeed so is the whole Apology. If this made for pædobaptism, it would be very considerable, and do a great deal more than has been yet done in the argument of antiquity: but Mr. Wall himself confesses it does not prove infants are to be baptized, and therefore supposes his readers will wonder what he means by producing it here; in answer to which he tells us, he does not produce it for that purpose. St. Justin introduces the account he gives of baptism thus: 'lest,' says he, 'if I should leave out this, I might seem to deal unfairly in some part of my Apology.'

If he was so cautious then, not to seem unfair, in hiding any thing from the powers before whom he pleaded; it is strange he should entirely omit, without the least intimation, so important an article as the custom of baptizing infants, if it had been practised at that time.

The heathens were apt enough to charge the Christians with using infants very barbarously: it concerned St. Justin therefore not to give any umbrage, by seeming to avoid the mentioning of them. So careful an apologist would certainly have taken occasion to mention them, and describe the Christians' treatment of them very exactly, in order to remove all suspicions from the emperor's mind. When they were reported to murder infants, or make some impious use of their blood, what could possibly fortify the suspicion more, than that so great a man as St. Justin should, in a public and formal apology, decline saying any thing at all of what they did to them? It was altogether necessary therefore for St. Justin, at least, to have taken some notice of infants, if they had used any ceremony about them; and therefore it is wrong in Mr. Wall to say, 'He had no occasion to speak of the case of infants.'

But supposing he had not, must he therefore describe baptism in such a manner as cannot be at all applicable to the case of infants, as he has done? This would have been directly deceiving the emperor, who certainly understood St. Justin's account to be full and true of baptism in general, and never imagined the Christians baptized otherwise. But Mr. Wall supposes the Christian church at that time had two baptisms, as the Church of England

† Part i. p. 16. [69.]



has at present, namely, one of adult persons, here described by St. Justin, and another of infants different from that. And therefore he intimates, that what St. Justin says here might agree to adult persons, but cannot be applied to the case of infants.

A man that will take this liberty, may say any thing with as much reason. It is true, indeed, what St. Justin says can only be applied to adult-baptism: but that the martyr should prevaricate with the emperor, and not speak of baptism in general as administered to all, but only in some cases, is unworthy his sincerity, and altogether an unreasonable conjecture: for St. Justin, I am sure, affords him no ground for this distinction; who with primitive candour and simplicity, gives an impartial full account of the administration of baptism in general, and so as to reach all cases. Upon these considerations, I think, it must be plain to any impartial judge, that if this passage of St. Justin does not make for infant-baptism, but relates only to the adult, by Mr. Wall's own confession, then it must make strongly against it: for had there been such a thing as infant-baptism at that time, how easy had it been for St. Justin, and how necessary, to have said, not only 'they who are persuaded and 'do believe,' &c., but also to have added, 'together 'with their infant children, are baptized?'

But there is another thing, even in the words, which directly opposes infant-baptism; the words I particularly refer to our author translates thus: 'And we have been taught by the apostles this 'reason for this thing; because we being ignorant 'of our first birth, were generated by necessity, &c.,

‘that we should not continue children of that necessity and ignorance, but of will (or choice) and knowledge; and should obtain forgiveness of the sins in which we have lived, by water,’ &c. Nothing can be plainer than that the new birth, together with the remission of sins to be obtained by water, is here said to depend not upon any necessity, or the will of another, as our being born into this world did; but, on the contrary, on our own wills, or free choice and knowledge; for the opposition lies here; we were at first generated *without* our knowledge or choice; but we must be regenerated, and obtain the remission of our sins by water, *with* our own knowledge and choice. And this shews that infants, who are not capable of that knowledge and choice, are consequently not capable of this baptism: if they are to be baptized, it must be without their choice, as much as their first generation was: which destroys St. Justin’s opposition, and therefore must be thought inconsistent with his notion of the matter.

Or however, supposing this were not so plain, we are at least upon equal terms with Mr. Wall as to this passage, since he confesses it does not make *for* infant-baptism. One would be apt to think therefore it was impertinently cited; but our author tells us, he produces it upon these three accounts:

1. ‘Because this is the most ancient *and best* account of the way of baptizing, next the Scripture,’ &c., and he notes that many Christians of those times had lived ‘in the apostles’ days;’ intimating, their way was the more likely to be the same with that of the apostles: and if so, our author must

allow, that those who come nearest in practice to this account of St. Justin, are to be accounted most in the right, and to administer the ordinance in the greatest purity. Now it is plain to any who read St. Justin's words, especially when they are compared with what he says in other places, that baptism was at that time administered by dipping; the consequence of which is, that not those who *sprinkle* or *pour*, but those who *dip*, retain the true apostolic way.

In the next place, St. Justin here mentions only adult persons, and elsewhere plainly excludes infants from being then baptized in the church; and says, that adult persons only can or ought to be baptized: and therefore again, not those who admit infants, but those who admit adult persons only, who actually believe, &c., agree exactly with St. Justin and the Christian church of his time, and consequently with the apostles too. Thus, from this first note of Mr. Wall, it follows that the antipædobaptists here in England, who dip the adult only, are in the right; and that the pædobaptists, whom he goes about to defend, are as wide of the truth in these points, as being directly contrary to it can make them.

2. The second (and perhaps the chief) reason for Mr. Wall's citing this passage, is, 'because,' he fancies 'it shews that the Christians of these times 'used the word *regeneration* for baptism.' This remark is providently laid down against a proper time: for you will find our author has occasion afterwards to prove this assertion. But this passage of St. Justin is far from doing him that service he intends; for though he talks of their being regene-

rated, and joins it pretty closely with their being baptized, yet he does not say baptism is regeneration : but only intimates that they received, or completed, or confirmed, &c., that regeneration by baptism : and as he is speaking only of adult persons, he must doubtless mean some further regeneration than bare washing. The passage, I confess, is a little obscurely expressed ; but however, in this sense only, it is agreeable with St. Justin's doctrine, as an example or two may satisfy you.

In his Dialogue with Trypho, he says, ' Christ is ' become the head of another people, who are regenerated by him by water, faith, and the tree<sup>u</sup>, ' &c. As Mr. Wall argues, regenerated here must signify *baptized* ; and then the passage runs thus, which were ' baptized of him by water, faith, and the tree,' that is, the cross. But when did our Saviour baptize by water, &c. ? And what sense is there in that expression, *baptize by faith* ? &c. ; regenerated plainly means something else, which, he says, was done by Christ ; and therefore he cannot intend baptism, which is not administered by Christ personally : or if baptism is said to be administered by Christ, as it is done by his command, and by his disciples, as John iv. 1, 2, yet we are said here to be regenerated *by* or *through* water, as a symbol, not as the thing itself ; for it is not said *in* water.

Besides, the regeneration is placed in *faith*, and in the *cross*, as well as in *water* ; and yet faith, strictly speaking, is not regeneration, but only a means of it ; and so likewise is baptism, &c. And

<sup>u</sup> Page 367. D. Ἀρχὴ πάλιν ἄλλου γένους γέγονεν τοῦ ἀναγεννηθέντος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δι' ὕδατος καὶ πίστεως, καὶ ξύλου, &c. [Sect. 138.]

the cross, or Christ's sufferings, or what else may be thought is here intended by it, cannot be our regeneration, but only a means of it.

We have another plain instance to this purpose in this very Apology, and but a little after the words Mr. Wall transcribes; where speaking of the sacred supper, the martyr says, 'Of which it is not lawful for any to partake, but such as believe the things we teach, and are baptized for the remission of their sins, and regeneration <sup>x</sup>,' &c. This manifestly shews that St. Justin thought baptism was for regeneration, just as it is for the remission of sins; but as baptism is not the remission of sins, so neither is it regeneration. That the martyr says, ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως, but εἰς ἀναγέννησιν, is no objection; for ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως is doubtless the same in sense with St. Peter's εἰς ἄφεσιν, Acts ii. 38, and therefore it is all one as if St. Justin, who was indeed not very exact in his language, had said εἰς ἄφεσιν. It appears then from hence, St. Justin only thought that we, some how or other, obtained or sealed, &c., our regeneration by baptism, as a mean or sign, &c., just as we also obtain remission of sins thereby, but not that baptism is remission of sins or regeneration: and therefore he is to be thus only understood, and not as our author would fain understand him.

3. The third thing, for which Mr. Wall cites this passage of St. Justin, is, 'because,' says he, 'we see by it that they understood that rule of our Saviour, *Except a man* &c., of water-baptism, and

<sup>x</sup> Page 97. D. Ἡς οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ μετασχεῖν ἐξόν ἐστιν, ἢ τῷ πιστεύοντι ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ διδασκόμενα ὑφ' ἡμῶν, καὶ λουσαμένῳ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ εἰς ἀναγέννησιν λουτρὸν, &c. [Apolog. i. sect. 66. edit. Benedict.]

'concluded from it that without such baptism no person could come to heaven.' But how strangely does Mr. Wall treat his readers? One while he would have us believe St. Justin speaks here only of adult persons converted from heathenism; but now you are, all on a sudden, to suppose he means infants as well as adult: for Mr. Wall's design in this note, is, to have us believe that St. Justin asserts, no person, whether adult or infant, can be saved without baptism. But upon Mr. Wall's own concession (and it is also too manifest to be denied) the martyr intends no such thing, but only that all adult persons who hear the word preached and believe, for of such only he speaks, ought to be baptized in order to their being made partakers of the kingdom.

The next citation Mr. Wall produces out of this Father, is taken from the same Apology with the former, and he translates it thus: 'Several persons among us of sixty and seventy years old, of both sexes, who were disciplined to Christ in their childhood, do continue uncorrupted.' His argument from these words is this, that many were disciplined to Christ in their childhood, and therefore children may be disciplined; and the word used by St. Matthew, ch. xxviii. 19, which is the same as is used here, does not mean *to teach*, but *to disciple* in such manner as children are capable of. Nay, if it be true, that St. Justin wrote this but one hundred years after St. Matthew, and that some infants had been baptized seventy years before he wrote, it follows that infants were baptized within the apostolic age, and even while most of the apostles were yet living. Which is a formidable argument indeed:

but I beg you, sir, to observe the whole force of it depends upon our author's misrepresentation of the words, which is beyond excuse.

As to *μαθηρεῖν*, I have largely proved from its use in Greek authors, from the sense in which the Fathers understood the commission, from most if not all the versions, and from the consent of several of the most learned critics, that it necessarily includes *teaching* in its signification. The whole stress of what our author advances to the contrary from these words of St. Justin lies in the sense of the phrase *ἐκ παιδων*; which Mr. Wall, that the passage might serve his turn, has unfairly rendered 'in their childhood.' To convince therefore the most prejudiced, I shall shew the disingenuity of our author's version more largely than so obvious a matter requires; for every body knows well enough that *ἐκ παιδων* signifies not *in* but *from* their childhood; just as it is said of St. Timothy, *that from a child*, or from his infancy, as it strictly signifies, he had *known the holy Scriptures*<sup>†</sup>: not that it can be thought he understood them in his infancy, but only from his infancy he had been training up in the knowledge of them.

So Cicero speaks of being 'brought up in good 'learning (*per omnem pueritiam*) from one's tenderest infancy<sup>‡</sup>.' And in another place, speaking of Diodotus the Stoic, he says, 'under whom I 'studied (*a puero*) from a child<sup>§</sup>.' Instances of this kind are common; but I must confine myself to the Greek writers. Laertius says of Xenocrates the Dull, of Chalcedon, 'that he studied under

<sup>†</sup> 2 Tim. iii. 15.

<sup>‡</sup> Ad Herenn. lib. iii. p. 46. b.

<sup>§</sup> Academ. Quæst. lib. iv. cap. 34. p. 302. b.

‘ Plato, (*ἐκ νέου*) from his infancy<sup>b</sup>.’ Socrates says of the *dæmon* which attended him, ‘ By some divine direction a certain *dæmon* has continued to attend me, beginning from my infancy (*ἐκ παιδός*)<sup>c</sup>;’ and so Ficinus translates it, *a prima pueritia*. And thus also Plutarch says of Cato Minor, that he was observed ‘ (*ἐκ παιδίου*) even from his childhood, in his voice, and countenance, and in his play, to be of an inflexible, morose, and obstinate disposition<sup>d</sup>.’

To add some Fathers of the Christian church too: Origen says, ‘ They who are called to do the works of the kingdom of God (*ἐκ παίδων, καὶ πρώτης ἡλικίας*) from their childhood and earliest days, are those whom the householder hired early in the morning<sup>e</sup>,’ Matt. xx. 1, &c. And a little after, in the same page, ‘ They who have been faithful (*ἐκ παίδων*) from their childhood, who have laboured, and with pains have kept a check upon the extravagancies of youth, think much that they should receive no greater reward than others, who were idle as to religion till they grew old, and have received and done the works of faith but a little time.’

And Theophilus Antiochenus says, that Epicurus and the Stoics taught incest and defilements with mankind, and had filled the libraries with those impure doctrines, ‘ that persons might (*ἐκ παίδων* *μανθάνειν*) from their childhood learn and be educated to such unlawful conversation<sup>f</sup>.’ In the *Pædagogus*, St. Clemens Alexandrinus defines *pæ-*

<sup>b</sup> Lib. iv. in Vita ejus. [Op. tom. i. p. 230. ed. Meibomii.]

<sup>c</sup> Platon. Theag. p. 93.

<sup>d</sup> In ejus Vit. p. 1393.

<sup>e</sup> In Matt. p. 406. C. [Comm. tom. xv. sect. 36. edit. Benedict.]

<sup>f</sup> Ad Autolyt. lib. iii. p. 120. D.



dagogy to be ‘a good institution in virtue from the ‘childhood’ (*ἐκ παιδων*).

And to add yet some instances from Scripture, Samuel tells the Israelites he had *walked before them* (*ἐκ νεότητος*) *from his childhood, unto that day*<sup>b</sup>. And Job, xxxi. 18, *I have guided her from my mother’s womb*. The royal prophet, Psalm lxxi. 5, *Thou art my trust* (*ἐκ νεότητός μου*) *from my youth*. And again, ver. 17, *O God thou hast taught me* (*ἐκ νεότητός μου*) *from my youth*. And the young man, whom Christ had directed to keep the commandments, makes him this answer, *Master, all these have I observed* (*ἐκ νεότητός μου*) *from my youth*, Mark x. 20.

After all this I need make no further comment, for no mortal can doubt but the passage in St. Justin ought to have been rendered thus: ‘Several persons ‘among us of sixty or seventy years of age, of both ‘sexes, who have been trained up in the Christian ‘religion, or instructed in Christ from their childhood, do continue’ &c. And this is exactly as Mr. Wall himself too has rendered the same phrase, when he was on another matter, and did not think it weakened his argument; it is in a passage taken out of St. Basil’s Exhortation to Baptism, which our author cites and translates, part i. p. 100. [209.] thus: ‘When you have been (*ἐκ νηπίου*) from a child ‘catechised in the word, are you not yet acquainted ‘with the truth?’ As in this place St. Basil, by our author’s own confession, speaks to such as had been ‘catechised from their childhood;’ so St. Justin, in the other, speaks of such as had been ‘instructed

<sup>ε</sup> Lib. i. cap. 5. p. 87. B.

<sup>b</sup> 1 Sam. xii. 2.

from their childhood.' And therefore our author has dealt here a little unfairly with St. Justin; and it is plain that these words, with the other passages he cites from that Father, are really nothing to his purpose.

I should now, sir, shew you that St. Justin is so far from saying any thing in favour of infant-baptism, that he frequently enough uses expressions and reasonings, which declare he believed nothing of the matter. But, as I am to answer Mr. Wall, my business is only to confute his arguments, which I hope you think I have fairly done hitherto.

Next follows St. Irenæus, in our author's quotations, and here we are to attack the strongest hold of our adversaries. But, by the way, let us observe that Mr. Wall confesses, 'this is the first express mention that we have met with of infants baptized.' Now this being wrote by his own confession about one hundred and eighty years after Christ, all that has been cited before that time cannot signify much; and the baptism of infants does not appear to have been practised, at best, till about the latter end of the second century. Nor have the pædobaptists yet proved it was practised then, for this passage from Irenæus no more proves it, than you see the other earlier citations have done.

It is true, many people have thought this passage plain and full to the purpose, for what, say they, can be more express than these words, 'He came to save all persons by himself; all I mean, who by him are regenerated unto God, infants and little ones, and children, and youths, and elder persons?'  
 "or as infants are expressly mentioned here, and

said to be saved by Christ, by being regenerated unto God by him; this they say must be thought an unexceptionable instance, that infant-baptism was spoken of as a thing commonly practised in St. Irenæus' time.

But to give this passage the weight they pretend it has, they ought to have proved that St. Irenæus does certainly say thus, which is very doubtful upon two accounts. 1. It is questioned whether the passage be genuine, or rather it seems to be undeniably spurious. Cardinal Baronius<sup>b</sup> observed this above one hundred years ago; and, I think, the reasons he gives have never been answered yet.

1. He notes, that the latter part of the chapter, from whence the words are taken, contradicts the beginning; for to say Christ was baptized at about 30, and to enumerate three passovers after that, in the last of which he suffered, is as plain an argument that Christ suffered about 33, as can be desired; and yet, in the latter part of the same chapter, it is pretended Christ lived till above 50. If St. Irenæus was guilty of so palpable a contradiction, he must have been strangely inconsiderate, and not to be trusted in any case; and then his testimony, though ever so full, is justly condemned. But since both sides agree the holy Father could not fall into so gross a blunder, I infer, with the cardinal, the latter part of this chapter is not his.

Casaubon<sup>i</sup> quarrels with Baronius upon this occasion, but says nothing to defend the passage. And what Petavius<sup>k</sup> has offered against him, which

<sup>b</sup> *Annal. Ecclesiast. An. 34.*

<sup>i</sup> *Exercitat. 16. ad An. 34. num. 142.*

<sup>k</sup> *Animadv. in Epiphan. Hæres. 51.*

is the most I have seen, amounts to nothing, if duly considered. He owns all the Cardinal urges; for indeed St. Irenæus is express as to the time of our Lord's baptism, and the three passovers mentioned which were after his baptism: but because St. Irenæus does not particularly say, the first of these three did commence with the next after his baptism, therefore Petavius imagines St. Irenæus thought there were several passovers between his baptism, and the first of these three, which are mentioned. But since he does not attempt to prove this, it is too wild and fanciful a conjecture to pass, and founded purely on Petavius' imagination. And the only reason Petavius has to imagine this, he himself tells us, is, because 'otherwise St. Irenæus contradicts himself<sup>1</sup>:' which is very pleasant indeed. For this is the Cardinal's assertion, and Petavius should not have supposed the contrary, and then argued from his supposition, for that is only begging the question. In short, Petavius allows the whole force of the Cardinal's argument, that the beginning and end of this chapter are contradictory, unless it can be proved to be probable, that these three passovers are not the three immediately following upon our Lord's baptism, which I do not see how any man will ever be able to do.

2. Another reason the annalist gives, to render this place of Irenæus suspected is, that the author of the last part of the chapter would confirm so manifest a falsehood, by the authority of the

<sup>1</sup> Alioqui constare ipse sibi non potest. [See Petavius' edition of Epiphanius, fol. Paris. 1622. tom. ii. part 2. p. 146, in the chapter headed 'De anno et die dominicæ passionis—diatriba altera.']

ancients, who he pretends received it immediately from St. John himself and other apostles ; for Baronius thinks the fancy is too notoriously false and ridiculous (as likewise all men will allow it is) to be contained in the Scriptures, or affirmed by any of the ancients Irenæus could refer to, and more especially by St. John and other apostles, who could not be mistaken in a matter, which even we at this time know so well.

Mr. Dodwell<sup>m</sup>, not with any apparent design upon this argument of the Cardinal's, but in answer to some others, who make a different use of the passage, would have us believe that St. John, &c., from whom Pseudo-Irenæus pretends to have derived his opinion, only judged by his countenance, that our Lord was arrived to the beginning, at least, of old age ; which, St. Irenæus, according to the division of ages in his time, understood to be toward fifty years. But, if the Fathers are capable of such gross errors in fact, all Mr. Dodwell says so learnedly in that dissertation will signify nothing ; because, notwithstanding his distinction, if by *reasoning*, or any other way, they mistake and assert what is in *fact* false, their testimony cannot be relied on even as to *facts* ; the point Mr. Dodwell so strenuously labours to carry. And how unlikely is it that St. John and the apostles should content themselves with barely guessing at our Saviour's age by his looks ; when nothing was more easy than to know it more exactly, and upon better grounds ? Nay, they could not but know it ; for doubtless they had often heard, and as often related, the wonderful manner of his birth, with the strange events that attended

<sup>m</sup> Dissertat. in Irenæum, i. §. 45. p. 81, 82.

it. The time of Augustus' taxing the whole world, and Herod's barbarous massacre of the children, &c., were fresh in their memory: and what is more common or natural, than for people to inquire how long ago such or such a thing, they are told of, was done? And that they should not have this curiosity in so important a concern as the birth, &c. of Christ, is altogether incredible.

It is not to be supposed therefore, that St. Irenæus received, or says he received, so false an account of our Lord's age from the apostles: and consequently that part of the chapter, as it now stands, is none of his.

3. To the reasons of Baronius it may be added, that St. Irenæus could not but know better, than to think Christ arrived so much as near the fortieth year, much less the fiftieth. The apostles certainly knew the time of our Lord's meritorious passion, for they were disconsolate eyewitnesses of it. And the time of his birth they could no more be ignorant of, than any true Englishman can forget the happy period when his late glorious Majesty<sup>a</sup> bravely rescued three nations from popery and arbitrary power, and secured the throne to our present most gracious Queen, whose succession is the greatest blessing that has followed upon that generous attempt; in that it makes all firm and lasting during her sacred Majesty's life at least: which may God of his infinite goodness lengthen out by a numerous addition of happy years, and at last reward her steady piety and justice with an inconceivably happier eternity!

If then the apostles knew the time of our Lord's

<sup>a</sup> [William III. at the revolution in 1688.]

birth, and the time of his death, of consequence they knew how old he was at that time. And they with whom they immediately conversed, had undoubtedly often heard them relate the whole, and could not but know then the precise times when he was born, and when he died. Thus we find two of the disciples, as they were going to Emmaus, Luke xxiv. 14, *talking together of all these things which had happened*; and afterwards, ver. 21, noting to the supposed stranger the particular time they were done.

Now St. Irenæus himself tells us he had seen and learned many things from some who had conversed with the apostles. There is a very remarkable fragment of his epistle to Florinus to this purpose, preserved by Eusebius, which runs thus: ‘I saw you  
‘ when I was a young man in the Lower Asia with  
‘ Polycarp, making a notable figure in the emperor’s  
‘ court, and endeavouring to gain his esteem; for I  
‘ remember what was done then, better than what  
‘ has been done in later times, (for what we learn in  
‘ our youth grows up with our mind, and sinks  
‘ deeply into it). So that I could describe the place  
‘ where the blessed Polycarp sat and discoursed, his  
‘ going out and coming in, his manner of life, and  
‘ his person; his discourses to the people, and the  
‘ familiar converse he said he had with St. John and  
‘ others who had seen the Lord; and how he re-  
‘ hearsed their discourses, and what he had heard  
‘ them who had been eyewitnesses of the word of  
‘ life relate of our Lord, and of his miracles and  
‘ doctrines, in all exactly agreeing with the Scrip-  
‘ tures. And these things, which then by the good-  
‘ ness of God were offered to me, I heard diligently,  
‘ and committed them to memory, not in paper, but

‘ in my heart. And by the grace of God, I do continually run them over in my mind distinctly<sup>o</sup>.’

In an age so nigh the apostles, persons who had the advantage which St. Irenæus, by his own words, appears to have had, cannot possibly be supposed to have been ignorant of our Lord's age; for it is observable in the passage just now translated, that St. Irenæus had taken such particular notice of Polycarp, that he remembered even the very place he sat in, and all the most minute circumstances; and very diligently heard the accounts he gave of his conversation with the apostles, and of the many things he had heard them relate of the Lord and his doctrines. And as the Father attended to all these things with the utmost eagerness, so he had treasured them up in his memory with the greatest care and fidelity. And is it to be imagined that persons, so zealous and so nice in their observations, should not keep a tolerable account of the age, that is, the birth and passion of their adored Redeemer?

Besides, as it might easily be, so it was commonly known from the censual rolls of Augustus, both at what time, and in what place our Lord was born. Justin Martyr, in his apology to the emperor, appeals to these rolls; and Tertullian, speaking of them, as things sufficiently known, calls them ‘ faithful witnesses of the birth of Christ P.’ And, in the beginning of Christianity, before and after St. Irenæus, in the disputes with their adversaries, the Christians were wont to prove from the prophets,

<sup>o</sup> Euseb. *Histor. Eccles. lib. v. cap. 20.*

<sup>p</sup> In Marcionem, lib. iv. cap. 7. [p. 417. C.] *Testem fidelissimum dominicæ nativitatis, &c.*



when Christ was to appear ; which occasioned them to observe and mark the time of the Lord's birth, and likewise the time of his passion, as we see Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, &c. have done : and in defending the truth of facts it is very usual, and indeed can hardly be avoided, to mention, among other circumstances, the time and place, &c., with some care, though not with the utmost exactness. So the Scripture notes our Lord was about thirty when he was baptized, and the like : now St. Irenæus must be supposed to have seen and read several of those discourses, and could not but be informed from them in some tolerable measure of the Lord's age ; nay, he would certainly have considered them in particular, the better to confute the heretics he wrote against, upon such an occasion ; and not negligently have exposed himself to the scorn of his adversaries, who would doubtless have used all diligence to shew how grossly he argued, and how much he was mistaken, if he had set down things at random, and made a false computation.

4. St. Irenæus' own words prove he was not guilty of so great an error as this spurious passage would fasten upon him. For in another place, where he is not so much concerned to be exact, he justly places the Lord's birth<sup>a</sup> about the forty-first year of Augustus : now if Christ lived but forty years from thence, he could not be crucified in the reign of Tiberius, nor under Pontius Pilate ; for Tiberius died thirty-seven years after the birth of Christ, and Pilate was removed from his government of Judæa at least a year before ; for he was

<sup>a</sup> Lib. iii. cap. 25. Natus est enim Dominus noster circa primum et quadragesimum annum Augusti imperii, &c.

made governor in the twelfth of Tiberius<sup>r</sup>, and continued but ten years<sup>s</sup>; so that he was displaced one year before Tiberius died, and consequently in the thirty-sixth year from the birth of Christ; and certainly St. Irenæus, who was acquainted with times more remote, could not but know this from Josephus, whom he had read.

It is not to be imagined, the time of acting that bloody tragedy on the Lord of life could be so soon and so much forgotten by his most zealous adorers, and those who professed to worship him as God<sup>t</sup>. Or, however, they must needs remember the precise time of so famous an event as the Destruction of Jerusalem; when every body knows it happened under Vespasian; and in Irenæus' days they could not but know it was in that emperor's second year; nay further, that it was on the first of September, and on the seventh day of the week too, as well as we do now; for St. Irenæus wrote but about one hundred years after it, and was an old man too when he wrote. Now from these things nothing was easier than to compute the time of the passion.

From the passion to the destruction of Jerusalem, it was generally allowed by the primitive Fathers, were about forty or forty-two years, as is plain from Eusebius<sup>u</sup>, Clemens Alexandrinus<sup>x</sup>, Origen<sup>y</sup>, &c.

<sup>r</sup> Euseb. Chronic. p. 202. [or p. 188. edit. Scaliger. fol. Lugd. Bat. 1606.]

<sup>s</sup> Joseph. Antiquitat. Judaic, lib. xviii. cap. 5.

<sup>t</sup> Plin. lib. x. Epist. 103, 134. Et apud Euseb. Chronic. p. 209. [or p. 195. edit. 1606.]

<sup>u</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 7. Et Chronic. p. 206. [p. 192. edit. 1606.]

<sup>x</sup> Strom. lib. i. p. 340. B.

<sup>y</sup> Orig. adv. Celsum, lib. iv. p. 174. [Sect. xxii. in edit. Bene-  
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And Phlegon, who wrote a little before St. Irenæus was born, as he is cited by Origen<sup>2</sup>, says expressly, ‘that about forty years from the fifteenth of Tiberius, (in which St. Luke says our Lord was baptized, being thirty years of age,) the city and temple of Jerusalem were destroyed.’ St. Irenæus then cannot be supposed ignorant of this, no more than Mr. Wall can be thought not to know the time when the reformation began in England; or that it was under Henry VIII; or how long it is since that king’s reign.

But if St. Irenæus knew our Lord’s passion was about forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem, he could not make Christ to have lived above thirty-one years, or thereabout. For it is plain from the best histories, and from the observations of eclipses, that Augustus died fourteen years after the birth of Christ; after which Tiberius reigned twenty-three years, and consequently died anno 37. Thence Caligula reigned about three years and a half, and therefore died anno 41. Claudius succeeded for about thirteen years and a half, and died anno 54. Nero reigned about fourteen years, and therefore died anno 68. Galba reigned about seven months, and therefore died about anno 69. Otho three months, and died likewise anno 69. Vitellius reigned but eight months, and died about the beginning of 70. Vespasian succeeded him; in whose second year the city was destroyed; that is, about the year 71; but if our Lord suffered forty years before that, by subtracting forty from seventy-one, you have thirty-one, about which age he was crucified.

<sup>2</sup> Tractat. xxix. in Matth. p. 138, 139. [Op. tom. iii. p. 859. (sect. 40.) edit. Benedict.]

There may indeed be some variations in computing these periods; but it is impossible to find any ground, especially for those so near the times we speak of, to reckon Christ was near fifty when he died.

Clemens Alexandrinus<sup>a</sup> calculates very much after this manner, with but little difference. And to suppose St. Irenæus ignorant of these necessary steps, which were then so very easy to be known, viz. about sixty or at most seventy years after the events, is as absurd a supposition as can well be, and makes this Father a most negligent writer. Josephus alone, whom he had read; or Phlegon, who wrote but in Adrian's time, could have furnished him with particulars sufficient to judge of the Lord's age at his passion, as appears by the following series extracted from Josephus :

	Yra.	m.	d.
Augustus <sup>b</sup> reigned .....	57	0	0
Tiberius <sup>c</sup> .....	20	5	3
Caligula <sup>d</sup> .....	3	8	0
Claudius <sup>e</sup> .....	13	8	30
Nero <sup>f</sup> .....	13	0	8
Galba <sup>g</sup> .....	0	7	7
Otho <sup>h</sup> .....	0	3	2
Vitellius <sup>i</sup> .....	0	8	5
And Titus <sup>k</sup> destroyed Jerusalem in the second year of his father Vespasian }	2	0	0
The total is .....	111	4	24

Now St. Irenæus, as I have before noted, places

<sup>a</sup> Strom. lib. i. p. 339. B. &c. 340, seqq.

<sup>b</sup> Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 3.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. cap. 8.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. lib. xix. cap. 2.

<sup>e</sup> De Bello Judaic. lib. ii. cap. 11.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. lib. v. cap. 6.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid. cap. 8.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. cap. 13.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid. lib. vii. cap. 18.

the birth of Christ in the forty-first of Augustus; therefore taking forty-one from one hundred and eleven, there will remain seventy for the time between the birth of Christ and the destruction of Jerusalem; and then supposing this destruction, according to the common account, to have been about forty years after the passion, Christ must have suffered at near thirty years of age. Or, to give the matter shorter, the Scriptures assure us Christ suffered under Pontius Pilate; now he governed Judæa no longer than Tiberius reigned, and not so long; and Tiberius, according to Josephus, reigned twenty years; to which if we add the fourteen years Christ lived under Augustus, they amount to no more than thirty-four years, if Christ had lived as long as Tiberius did. Or again, if Tiberius reigned but twenty years, and Christ was about thirty in Tiberius' fifteenth, as St. Luke assures us; then he could not be above four or five and thirty at most when he died: but as he died under Pilate, who was dismissed the government a year sooner, so Christ must have died a year younger. So that it was not possible for St. Irenæus, which way soever he went to work, to stretch the time of our Lord's life upon earth to near forty, much less fifty years, as the author of the latter part of the chapter, out of which the pædobaptists cite the words they build on, has inconsiderately done.

Mr. Dodwell, it is true, has endeavoured to make the opinion, of Christ's being toward fifty years old, the more excusable, and likely to have been St. Irenæus', by shewing, that he was nearer forty than is generally believed<sup>1</sup>: but if his calculation be ever

<sup>1</sup> Dissert. i. in Irenæum, sect. 46. p. 82, &c.

so exact, it can signify nothing in the present case, because he agrees with us, that the time of the passion was the nineteenth of Tiberius, and only sets the time of his birth something backwarder than we do; which is not to be allowed in this case, because St. Irenæus himself has determined the time of his birth to the forty-first of Augustus; from which to the nineteenth of Tiberius is but thirty-three years, according to Mr. Dodwell himself.

From all this therefore I think it must necessarily follow, that St. Irenæus cannot be reasonably thought the author of this part of that chapter; for it cannot fairly be imagined that a man of his learning and integrity was either incapable of making the necessary computations, or so intolerably careless as to neglect them, especially when he was professedly treating the matter, and did not speak of it by the by.

2. But in the second place it is doubtful whether St. Irenæus said as our adversaries understand the passage now; because we have not his own words, but only a translation of them, which may give them a quite different face from what they had in the original: and therefore, if the words be allowed to have any weight at all, it can be but very little. And translators very often took a great latitude, as several among the ancients have complained.

But as to this translation of St. Irenæus in particular, it is a very scandalous one, and altogether unworthy the original. And this all learned men confess, since it has been known to be a translation: the great Scaliger says, 'the translator was an ass, and had even less learning than Ruffinus<sup>m</sup>:' and yet

<sup>m</sup> Scaligerana, p. 213. L'interprète d'Irenée est bien asne, il est plus indocte encore que Ruffin.

one would think no man could abuse his original more than it is known Ruffinus was wont to do. Monsieur Du Pin calls it a barbarous version<sup>a</sup>: and a little after, says, ‘the version of the five books ‘concerning the heresies, though barbarous—and ‘full of faults,’ &c. And in a note he has added, he says, ‘It was certainly composed by a man who ‘understood neither language as he ought<sup>b</sup>;’ that is, neither the Greek in which St. Irenæus wrote, nor the Latin, into which he pretended to translate. The learned Mr. Dodwell calls it ‘a foolish translation<sup>c</sup>;’ and the author of it, ‘a barbarous, unskilful translator,’ who, he says, has several times ‘mistaken ‘one word for another, so as even to alter the sense ‘very much from what the author intended<sup>d</sup>:’ and he gives several instances of it.

Dr. Grabe, the learned editor of this Father, in the prolegomena he has prefixed to the late edition, reckons it but a bad translation; and says, they who fancy St. Irenæus to have been the translator as well as the author ‘make that great man unacquainted with his own thoughts, or else they must ‘say he has expressed them very awkwardly<sup>e</sup>.’

But besides the judgment of learned men, the badness of the version may be seen by comparing it with those fragments of the Greek which are still preserved.

In one place<sup>f</sup> where the original and the version disagree, Dr. Grabe thinks the copy the translator made use of was corrupt: which however could not

<sup>a</sup> Hist. Eccles. p. 67, 68; [or, p. 60 of the second edition of the first volume, fol. 1693.]

<sup>b</sup> Page 71. letter K.    <sup>c</sup> Dissert. v. sect. 4.    <sup>d</sup> Ibid. sect. 5.

<sup>e</sup> Sect. 2. §. 3.

<sup>f</sup> Lib. iii. cap. 21. note a. p. 250.

well be so early as the doctor (without any ground) supposes the translation to be made, namely, in St. Irenæus' time, or soon after. I should rather impute the variation to the translator's ignorance or carelessness; especially since we have other undoubted instances how unequal he was to the work he undertook.

In another place<sup>†</sup>, the doctor thinks some words, which had been noted in the margin, are now crept into the text itself: and elsewhere he very frequently finds fault with the translation. In the twenty-fifth chapter of the third book, instead of *ποιήσαντος τοῦ Θεοῦ ὅπερ ἐβ.*, the interpreter seems to have read, not without very great negligence to be sure, *ποιήσαντας τοῦτο ὅπερ ἐβούλετο*; entirely perverting the author's sense, as the doctor has noted<sup>‡</sup>.

Again, St. Irenæus had said, 'For since by a tree we lost it, (viz. the word of God,) by a tree we have received it again<sup>\*</sup>;' [but the translator falsely renders it, *by a tree it was again made manifest unto all*,] 'shewing the height, and length, and breadth, and depth' [this last word is omitted in the translation] 'which is in it; for' [the translator turns it *and*, and adds, *as some of the ancients have said*] 'by a divine' [this word the translator omits] 'stretching out of the hands, he gathered two people under one head, even the Father;' [the translator renders it, *two people under one God*; and then adds, *of his own, two hands, because there were two people scattered to the ends of the earth; but one middle head*] 'For God is one, who is over all, and through all, and in all.' The translation is different in this last of

<sup>†</sup> Ad lib. iii. cap. 19. note b. p. 245.

<sup>‡</sup> Page 255.

<sup>\*</sup> Lib. v. cap. 17. p. 426.



too: for it runs, ‘for one God is over all, through all, and in us all.’ In this one short passage, you see, there is abundance of liberty taken, and that several times the sense is changed.

In another place, to give but one instance more, the translator has altered the sense of the Greek very much. St. Irenæus reckons up the four covenants God had made with men in this manner: ‘One after the flood of Noah, in the bow; the second, that of Abraham, in the sign of circumcision; the third, the giving of the law by Moses; and the fourth, that of the Gospel, by our Lord Jesus Christ.’ But the translator reckons them up thus: ‘One with Adam before the flood; the second with Noah after the flood; the third, the giving of the Law under Moses; the fourth renews the man, and comprehends all in it, which is by the Gospel, giving men wings, and raising them up into the heavenly kingdom.’ One would think this could not be pretended to be a translation of St. Irenæus’ sense, it is so different from it. But you may see what strange work has been made with this book, and how much the translator, through ignorance, negligence, and too much liberty, has corrupted and abused this great man’s work. And can any body, after all this, be satisfied barely from such a transaction, that he has, in any case, the true sense of St. Irenæus, without any alteration? And much less should any ground an argument upon it. It must appear therefore very doubtful, at least, whether St. Irenæus ever spoke as the present translation makes him do: for I have shewn, I think more

than probably, that this part of the chapter could not be St. Irenæus'; and that if it was, yet we can have no reason to depend on the translator. And therefore Mr. Wall should have secured the passage from these exceptions, if he intended to do his cause any service with it: for if St. Irenæus did not write those words, or to that purpose exactly, whatever may be proved from them signifies nothing.

Nay, if Mr. Wall had proved beyond contradiction, that the Latin translation of the passage he cites does punctually agree with what was in the Greek original written by St. Irenæus himself; yet it would still have been liable to the following weighty exceptions, which effectually take off the force of the argument the pædobaptists raise from it: it depending entirely on these two suppositions, that by *regenerated* is meant *baptized*, and by *infants* such as we now call *infants in age*, and but *new-born*: for it is very plain, that if the passage does not speak of infants, or if it does not speak of baptizing them, it proves nothing.

1. In the first place then, there is no reason to think the word *regenerated* here means *baptized*. Mr. Wall indeed tells us\*, that such as are at all acquainted with the books of those ages cannot doubt but the word *regeneration*, in the usual phrase of those times, signified *baptism*: but one would think by this assertion, that our author is not much acquainted with the books of those times himself; and that he had never read them, when he says, the ancient Christians 'never use the word *regenerate* ' or *born again*, but that they mean or denote by it

\* Part i. p. 18. [73.]

‘*baptism*<sup>a</sup>’; for nothing can be more apparently false, as I shall shew.

But first, we must observe our author begins this matter something higher: and as he pretends to have found baptism practised by the Jews in and before Christ’s time; so he likewise tells us, they called that *baptism, regeneration*<sup>b</sup>; and from them Christ himself and all Christians borrowed not only the thing, but also that way of speaking of it.

But I have proved, as plainly as it can be expected such a thing should be proved, that the Jews had no such initiatory baptism; and consequently, they could not call it by that name. Or however, if it should be allowed they had such a baptism, I believe they nowhere call it *regeneration*, whatever Mr. Wall pretends. I am sure there is nothing like it in the passages he cites. Indeed, proselytes were thought new men, and the Talmud and Maimonides, as our author quotes them, say, ‘they were like ‘children new-born:’ but the same is said of a slave that is made free too, even in the same words of Maimonides; and yet slaves were not made free by this pretended initiatory baptism. So that though proselytes were accounted as children new-born, because they were now in a different state from what they were in before; yet where is it said, or so much as intimated, that baptism was called or thought a regeneration? It does not follow, because they are said to be *as* new-born babes, that they were said likewise to *be* new-born; nor, if they were said to be new-born, that they meant nothing but baptism by that new birth. Why should not circumcision, or offering sacrifice, be the regeneration,

<sup>a</sup> Introd. p. 22. [32.]

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 21. [30.]

as well as baptism? Or indeed, why should we say, either of them were called regeneration, when the passage our author goes upon intimates no such thing?

And how trifling must it be from these fancies, to go about to explain what the Scriptures mean by the *new birth*, and the *new creature*? Nay, if all the rabbins did assert what our author pretends to say from them; is it becoming a Christian divine to forsake the Scriptures, to follow the rabbins? By this new creation the Scriptures, it is plain, mean *the renewing of the mind*, Rom. xii. 2, and *the renewing of the Holy Ghost*, Tit. iii. 5. It is strange it should ever come into any one's head to give so perverse a turn to the words, *If any man be in Christ he is a new creature*; as to say, they mean *he is baptized*: but surely nobody will think St. Paul could talk at this poor rate. It is more natural to understand them, as he perhaps more plainly runs the same argument, Coloss. iii. 9, 10, to intend, that such as were in Christ, and risen with him, (verse 1,) were become new creatures, by *putting off the old man with his deeds, and putting on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge, after the image of him that created him*. And beside this, the Scriptures know of no other regeneration that we are here capable of.

Though this is undoubtedly the true Scripture notion of regeneration, as appears from the places where the word *regenerate*, &c., is used, or regeneration spoken of; yet Mr. Wall is pleased to call it, with some seeming contempt, the 'modern notion,' and he appropriates it to 'some late English writers:' and the reason is plain; for if it should once come

to be thought as ancient as the Scriptures and earliest writings, it might go very near to spoil the best argument for pædobaptism our adversaries can find in all antiquity, which is this of St. Irenæus. But however they may dread the consequences, it is certain regeneration meant this spiritual birth, and nothing short of a real personal change.

Of all the passages in Scripture where *regenerate*, &c., is used, I do not remember any are disputed but these two, viz. the words of our Lord, John iii. 5, and those of St. Paul, Tit. iii. 5. And these indeed are by our author cited as instances to confirm his sense: but what ground he has, beside a strong imagination, I do not see. The words of our Saviour are a little obscure, since the prevailing of infant-baptism; for baptism being never administered but to persons supposed to be regenerated, of which it was the sign, &c., therefore all that were baptized were spoken of as regenerated; and then infants being baptized, they must be taken to be regenerated too, and so baptism and regeneration come to be taken, by some people, for the same thing. And indeed, upon this notion it was pretty easy to mistake our Saviour's words: but this mistake may be as easily seen; for our Lord does not say, *born of water alone*, but *born of water and the Spirit*. He does not speak of two new births, one by water and one by the Spirit; but only of one, which was to be of water and the Spirit in conjunction. And thus then, without going any further, it appears, that though we may charitably hope, and say, all who are regularly baptized are regenerated, yet the baptizing in water is not the regenerating; because that other part, viz. of the Spirit, is at least equally

required to regeneration : and therefore baptism with water is not regeneration.

But we may ask further, whether the new birth Christ speaks of, does peculiarly consist in the external administration by water only, or in the internal operations of the Spirit only, or in both together? Now that both water and the Spirit are necessary in the case our Lord is speaking of, is plain from the words themselves; and that the regeneration really consists but in one, and the other is only used as a means, or the like, is, I think, full as plain.

For, as to the external administration of baptism by water; it is ever in the Scriptures spoken of as a symbol only, and representation of something else of a more excellent nature. This is so evident to all who read the Scriptures, that I need not go about to prove it: *Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death*<sup>c</sup>. And the very name of sacrament, even according to the notion given of it in the Articles of the Church of England, imports as much<sup>d</sup>.

Now if to this it be added, that baptism is nowhere called regeneration, but that the internal change of the mind, &c., frequently is: that baptism is not obtained by means of the Spirit; but on the contrary, the Spirit was wont to be obtained in the use of baptism: methinks it should be plain enough, that the regeneration our Lord spoke of was spiritual, to be signified and obtained, or the like, by the symbol of baptism in water.

But besides, our Lord's own words put the matter out of doubt: for continuing his discourse on the

<sup>c</sup> [Romans vi. 4.]

<sup>d</sup> Article xxv.

same new birth, he appropriates it wholly to the Spirit, and speaks only of being born of the Spirit; for it is that only he opposes to the former fleshly birth, in the words next immediately following, ver. 6, which shews that was the only birth he meant before; for how incoherent would he else have been! When he had told Nicodemus of a certain new birth, which puzzled his understanding, to run from that, and talk of quite another thing, could not but have made him more confused; whereas Christ goes about to take off the amazement, *Marvel not*, says he, *that I said unto thee, Ye must be born again*, ver. 7, and shews him, it is no wonder if he does not understand how it can be, since even in natural causes, the wind for instance, he is forced to confess his ignorance. And this makes it evident, that Christ speaks of spiritual regeneration, and no other: for had he by *born again* meant baptism, that could not have been so hard to be understood, nor have given our Saviour occasion to say, *Marvel not*, &c. And especially, if it had been the practice of the Jews to baptize their proselytes, and call that baptism regeneration, as it is pretended; how is it possible Nicodemus should not understand a common phrase of his mother tongue? Christ indeed wonders, that he, being a ruler of Israel, should not better apprehend what was said: but our adversaries are quite mistaken, when they think the Lord wonders why Nicodemus did not understand the regeneration he spake of; for Christ endeavours to convince him, that this was indeed above his conception: and it is after this that Nicodemus says, *How can these things be?* and that the Lord answers, *Art thou a master of Israel, and knowest not these*

*things?* To *know* here does not mean to *comprehend*, or understand the nature of the thing; but to *be convinced*, and to *believe*, as the same thing is expressed, ver. 12, *I have told you earthly things, and ye believe not*. So that our Lord wonders that Nicodemus, being a teacher in Israel, should not know and believe, notwithstanding the prophets had so plainly taught it, that there was an internal renovation of the mind, which all persons, as well the Jews themselves as the heathens, stood in need of, and were to receive especially under the dispensation of the Messias.

Very remarkable here are the words of the incomparable Grotius: 'Christ discovers a new thing to Nicodemus: that now something greater than Judaism was required of all that should be saved.\*' And doubtless our Lord taught him here the same doctrine which St. Paul taught afterwards, Gal. vi. 15, that *in Christ Jesus neither circumcision avail-eth any thing, &c., but a new creature*: for Grotius justly reckons these passages are parallel. And this clearly seems to have been the common stumbling-block which Nicodemus could not surmount, viz. That the law should be counted so imperfect and insufficient. What has been said, I hope, proves our Saviour, John iii. 5, means only being born of the Spirit, by or in the use of baptism with water, as the external symbol and seal of such regeneration.

The other passage, Tit. iii. 5, has no manner of difficulty in it: nor can I guess what could incline

\* In Johan. iii. 3. Rem novam Nicodemo legis doctori Christus indicat, posthac ad salutem pariendam majus aliquid Judaismo requiri.



any man to cite it as an instance, that regeneration means baptism, when it evidently means the contrary. By *the washing of regeneration*, I allow, is meant baptism; that is, by the whole phrase: but to say by *regeneration* is meant baptism too, is absurd and groundless enough. On another occasion<sup>f</sup>, our author cites this very place, and argues that λουτρὸν, *the washing*, signifies baptism; and makes λουτρὸν and βαπτισμός synonymous terms: for, λελουμένοι, he says, means *baptized*; and thence he infers, because λουτρὸν signifies any kind of washing, therefore baptism may be administered by any kind of washing. But here he will have the word *regeneration* mean baptism, because this is most for his purpose now: so that take our author altogether, and both words mean baptism; and then the place may be rendered, *the baptism of baptism* instead of *the washing of regeneration*.

Which of the two words would any man think more particularly and properly here signified baptism? That which does express some washing, or that which has no such sense? Every one would pitch on λουτρὸν, *the washing*, rather than *regeneration*; for λουτρὸν is made the *genus*, to signify washing or baptism in general, and *regeneration* is added as the *difference* to distinguish it from all other washings, and limit the assertion to signify, that God saves us by the *Christian* baptism only, or that washing which is *the washing of regeneration, and of the renewing of the Holy Ghost*.

But we may see our author has offered a great violence to the words, if we observe the use of the phrase here occurring; for thus we meet with *the*

<sup>f</sup> Part ii. p. 221. [330.]

*baptism of repentance* several times in the Scripture, to signify that baptism which follows upon, is accompanied with, and is a sign of repentance, as Mark i. 4; Acts xiii. 24. and xix. 4. And thus St. Justin, probably alluding to this place in Titus, uses διὰ τοῦ λουτροῦ τῆς μετανοίας καὶ τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ, to signify the washing or 'baptism of repentance, and 'the knowledge of God;' and therefore διὰ τοῦ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαταστάσεως Πνεύματος Ἁγίου, exactly the same form of speech, means, by the washing or *baptism of regeneration, and of the renewing of the Holy Ghost*. And as nobody can be so wild as to imagine, that because St. Justin says, *the washing of repentance*, therefore repentance signifies baptism; so in like manner, it is as absurd to say, that when St. Paul speaks of *the washing of regeneration*, regeneration means baptism; for the case is as exactly parallel as can be wished.

I would add one remark more, viz. that St. Paul calls this *the washing* (not only of *regeneration*, but also) of *the renewing of the Holy Ghost*. Every one, who understands the Greek tongue, must needs confess this is the right construction of the place: and it is thus the Æthiopic translator has rendered it; and the Arabic too, notwithstanding the author of the Latin translation of the Arabic published in Dr. Walton's Polyglot gives it a different but a wrong turn, which the Arabic will not admit: for the *inseparable* præposition here, as in the Æthiopic, translated *by*, is joined only to *washing*; and all the rest is, as the grammarians style it, *in statu constructo*, and therefore ought to be rendered, as

he that added the Latin translation to the Æthiopic has likewise done, by *the washing of regeneration, and of the renovation of the Holy Ghost*. And then if washing refers to *the renovation of the Holy Ghost*, as well as to *regeneration*, it must follow, that *the renewing of the Holy Ghost* means baptism as much as regeneration does; that is, not at all: for as the inference will be allowed to be manifestly absurd in one case, so it is in the other. And therefore I now draw this general conclusion, in opposition to our author, that the Scriptures never call baptism *regeneration*.

As to his other pretence, ‘that regeneration, in ‘the usual phrase of that time, (viz. in which St. Irenæus lived,) signifies baptism<sup>b</sup>;’ and that the ancients ‘never use the word *regenerate* or *born again*, but that they mean or denote by it baptism<sup>i</sup>:’ it is, I think, one of the most groundless assertions I ever met with; for, on the contrary, nothing is more common than to take this word in a quite different sense; and I do not believe it is ever so much as once used in the ancientest times for baptism: at least not till their zeal for infant-baptism betrayed them into that absurdity, which was not near the time of St. Irenæus.

I have shewn you how St. Justin uses the word *regeneration*, and that he cannot be understood to mean *baptism* by it: and it is very easy to prove as much of the other Fathers. Clemens Alexandrinus relates from Alexander Polyhistor, that the Indian Brachmans eat no living creatures, nor drink any wine; that some of them eat every day as we do, and others only every third day: and he adds, that

<sup>b</sup> Part i. p. 18. [73.]

<sup>i</sup> Introd. p. 22. [32.]

'they do not fear death, nor esteem life, because  
'they reckon death is but another birth<sup>k</sup>' (παλιγγε-  
νεσίαν). Origen uses it to mean the resurrection:  
when speaking of the apostles he says, 'In the rege-  
'neration (παλιγγενεσία) they shall sit upon twelve  
'thrones<sup>l</sup>.' And again, on the same occasion, he  
says, 'Those who followed our Saviour shall sit  
'upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of  
'Israel: and this power they shall receive in the  
'resurrection of the dead. For this is the *regene-*  
'*ration*, it being a kind of new generation<sup>m</sup>,' &c.  
And this mode of speech is borrowed from the  
Scriptures themselves, Matt. xix. 28, and was used  
also by the Jews, as Grotius has shewn from Jose-  
phus and Philo<sup>n</sup>.

But to come nearer the case in hand: Tertullian  
undoubtedly speaks of something internal, when he  
says, alluding to the Decalogue, that 'we are born  
'in the same number of months, as we are regene-  
'rated by precepts<sup>o</sup>.' Clemens Alexandrinus relat-  
ing how St. John restored to the church that young

<sup>k</sup> Stromat. lib. iii. p. 451. B. Καταφρονούσι δὲ θανάτῳ καὶ παρ'  
οὐδὲν ἡγούνται τὸ ζῆν'· πείθονται γὰρ εἶναι παλιγγενεσίαν. [Dr. Wall  
has noticed, in his 'Defence,' the singular translation which Mr.  
Gale gives of these words.]

<sup>l</sup> In Matth. p. 354. E. Οἱ καὶ καθεδούνται οἱ ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ  
ἐπὶ ιβ' θρόνους. [Comm. tom. xiv. sect. 15. ed. Bened.]

<sup>m</sup> Comment. in Matth. p. 391. C. Οἱ τοίνυν ἀκολουθήσαντες τῷ  
Σωτῆρι καθεδούνται ἐπὶ δώδεκα θρόνους, κρίνοντας τὰς ιβ' φυλὰς τοῦ  
'Ισραὴλ, καὶ ταύτην λήψονται τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει τῶν νεκρῶν·  
αὕτη γὰρ ἔστιν ἡ παλιγγενεσία καὶνὴ τις γένεσις οὐσα. [Comm. tom.  
xv. sect. 22.]

<sup>n</sup> Not. in Matth. xix. 28.

<sup>o</sup> De Anima, p. 292. C. Ut tanto temporis numero nascamur,  
quanto disciplinæ numero renascimur. [cap. 37.]

man, who, after he had been educated in the Christian religion, and baptized, became a captain of a band of robbers, and commending his great repentance, says; he gave ‘a great example of true repentance, and an extraordinary instance of regeneration’; that is, of conversion; for nothing can be here understood by regeneration, but an internal change of mind. In another passage, the same St. Clement says, ‘The Father of all things receives those that fly to him; and having *regenerated* them (ἀναγεννήσας) in the Spirit, to the adoption of sons, he knows them to be of a good disposition; and them only he loves, and helps and defends; and for this cause he calls them children.’ Here ἀναγεννήσας Πνεύματι, I hope, cannot be thought to mean baptized, especially since it is said, that those who are so regenerated are ἡπιοί. Those words also of this Father are very remarkable to this purpose, where he says, ‘To instruct and enlighten the understanding, is called also by the heathen philosophers (ἀναγεννήσαι) to *regenerate*’.

The particle *also* in this period plainly imports, that the same way of speaking was in use among the Christians too: but the following words make it more evident, where he cites St. Paul as meaning the same thing, when he says, 1 Cor. iv. 15, ‘For

p Apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 23. Διδοὺς μέγα παράδειγμα μετανοίας ἀληθινῆς, καὶ μέγα γνῶρισμα παλιγγενεσίας, &c.

q Pædagog. lib. i. p. 90. B. Οὕτω καὶ τῶν ὄλων ὁ Πατὴρ τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν καταπεφευγότας προσίεται καὶ ἀναγεννήσας Πνεύματι εἰς υἱοθεσίαν, ἡπίους οἶδεν καὶ φιλεῖ τούτους μόνους, καὶ βοηθεῖ, καὶ ὑπερμαχεῖ καὶ διὰ τοῦτον [sic] ὀνομάζει παιδίον.

r Stromat. lib. v. p. 552. C. Ἐπεὶ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις φιλοσόφοις, τὸ κατηχησαί τε καὶ φωτίσαι ἀναγεννήσαι λέγεται.

in Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the Gospel. To which he might also have added, Gal. iv. 19, *My little children, of whom I travail in birth again, until Christ be formed in you*: which plainly shews the Christian birth consists in Christ's being formed in them. And St. Clement is so far from leaving any room to imagine baptism was called *regeneration*, that he expressly says it is 'the sign of regeneration': and sure it cannot be the sign, and the thing signified too. And afterwards he calls regeneration 'a new spiritual generation'. The whole passage is too long to be transcribed; but I will give you another which is much shorter, and very express: 'An adulteress lives indeed to sin, but she is dead to the commands; but she that repents, being as it were regenerated (*ἀναγεννηθείσα*) by a change of manners, has the regeneration (*παλιγγενεσίαν*) of life: she is dead to the former adulteries, and is entered again into life, being regenerated (*γεννηθείσης*) by repentance<sup>a</sup>.' Nay, it may be yet farther observed, that instead of calling baptism *generation* or *regeneration*, he directly on the contrary calls it 'death, and the end of the old life'<sup>x</sup>.

In the same manner likewise Origen talks of regeneration; in one passage particularly he is very

<sup>a</sup> Eclog. p. 801. col. 2. D.

<sup>t</sup> Ibid. p. 802. col. 1. B.

<sup>u</sup> Stromat. lib. ii. p. 425. A. 'Ἡ γάρ τοι πορνεύσασα, ὣς μὲν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, ἀπέθανεν δὲ ταῖς ἐντολαῖς. ἡ δὲ μετανοήσασα, οἷον ἀναγεννηθείσα κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν τοῦ βίου, παλιγγενεσίαν ἔχει ζωῆς. τεθνηκυίας μὲν τῆς πόρνῃς τῆς παλαιᾶς, εἰς βίον δὲ παρελθούσης αὐτῆς κατὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν γεννηθείσης. [See Dr. Wall's remark upon the incorrect translation of this passage, in his 'Defence.']

<sup>x</sup> Eclog. p. 800. a. C. Θάνατος καὶ τέλος λέγεται τοῦ παλαιοῦ βίου τὸ βάπτισμα.

plain: and because his words, I think, unravel the whole difficulty, and may lead into the reason of other more obscure places, I will transcribe the passage at large. ‘The washing with water is a symbol of a pure mind, cleansed from all filthiness of evil: and to one who gives himself up to God, it is in itself, by the power of the invocation of the adorable Trinity, the beginning and fountain of Divine gifts.—This the history of the Acts of the Apostles greatly confirms; since it is related, that the Spirit did then evidently come upon those who were baptized, the water preparing the way for him, in such as came to it as they ought, inso-much that Simon the magician, amazed at the sight, would have obtained of Peter the same grace, and desired to purchase the most righteous thing with the mammon of unrighteousness. And it is farther to be observed, that the baptism of John was inferior to the baptism of Jesus, given by his disciples: those therefore who in the Acts were baptized with the baptism of John, and had not heard whether there were any Holy Ghost, were baptized again by the apostle. For the baptism of regeneration was not given by John, but by Jesus, by the hands of his disciples; and it is called the laver of regeneration, the performance of it being accompanied with the renewing of the Spirit, which being from God, is now also preferred above the water, but is not always ingenerated together with the water.’

γ In Johan. p. 124, 125. [Comm. tom. vi. sect. 17. ed. Benedict. The original words of the last clause are these; Πνεύματος τοῦ καὶ νῦν ἐκυφερομένου, ἐπειδὴ περὶ Θεοῦ ἐστίν, ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος, ἀλλ’ οὐ πάσι μετὰ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐγγινομένου.]

· St. Clemens Romanus can mean nothing but internal regeneration and conversion, when he says, ‘Noah being found faithful, preached regeneration (παλιγγενεσίαν) to the world<sup>z</sup>.’ And it is strange what could be in Junius’ mind to urge, that by regeneration was to be understood in this place the resurrection: for Noah was indeed a preacher of repentance, but we do not find his main business was to preach the resurrection; nor is St. Clement here speaking of the resurrection. To these I will only add a passage of St. Barnabas, which is very remarkable; ‘Since therefore he has renewed us by the remission of our sins, he has given us another form, that we should have our souls like the soul of a child; even as he himself has formed us<sup>a</sup>.’ Most directly shewing, that the Christian new formation or regeneration is by the Spirit.

And now could any body, sir, that had read these passages, fairly pretend the ancients by *regeneration* always mean *baptism*? If Mr. Wall had not read these books, he ought not so readily to have made the assertion: and if he has read them, what excuse can be framed for him? For it is apparent from these instances, to which many more might have been added, that the most ancient Fathers, by *regeneration* mean something spiritual and internal, and very different from *baptism*. And the same might be very easily proved too, from his admired St. Austin himself, but it is needless.

<sup>z</sup> Epist. 1. ad Corinth. cap. 9. Νῶε πιστὸς εὐρεθεὶς, διὰ τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ παλιγγενεσίαν κόσμῳ ἐκήρυξε, &c.

<sup>a</sup> Epist. cap. vi. p. 18. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀνακαινίσας ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀφέσει τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, ἐποίησεν ἡμῶς ἄλλον τύπον, ὡς παιδίον ἔχειν τὴν ψυχὴν, ὡς ἂν καὶ ἀναπλασσομένος αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς.



Instead of it we will examine the other position he lays down, to prove that *regenerated*, in the words he cites from St. Irenæus, means *baptized*, and this will quickly be found to be as groundless as the other.

He says, ‘ Irenæus has used this word so in all ‘ other places of his book, that he has ever observed<sup>b</sup>.’ But if our author has not observed the several passages where it is used otherwise, I cannot help it: however, the argument depends not so much upon his observation, as upon the truth of the thing itself. But if he had pleased, one would think he might have observed, that St. Irenæus nowhere uses the word so, (at least, I am most inclined to think so,) because the instance he cites is so far from proving what he produces it for, that it well enough proves the direct contrary: and therefore I am surprised that the learned Dr. Grabe should refer to it also with the same design as our author. For to go no farther than the words Mr. Wall has transcribed, there is not the least reason to say St. Irenæus means baptism by regeneration. ‘ When he ‘ gave his disciples the commission of regenerating ‘ unto God, he said unto them, *Go and teach*,’ &c. But why must we conclude from these words, that St. Irenæus means by regenerating, *baptizing*? Is it not as good sense, and very agreeable with our Saviour’s design in the commission, by *regenerating* to understand *teaching, instructing, enlightening the mind*, and *converting* the nations to God? This doubtless was their chief business, though they were likewise to baptize all they had so converted. And therefore it is very arbitrary to restrain the word

<sup>b</sup> Part i. p. 19. [73.]

*regenerate* from signifying what was the main design of the commission, and to limit it, even contrary to its proper signification and general use, only to the less principal.

But the next words of Irenæus make it appear more clearly, that he meant an internal regeneration by the Spirit. ‘For God promised to pour him out upon his servants and handmaids in the latter days, that they might prophesy; wherefore he descended upon the Son of God, when he became the Son of man, accustoming himself in him to dwell with mankind, and to rest in men, and to dwell in the creature of God, working in them the will of the Father, and of old making them new in Christ<sup>c</sup>.’ It is plain from hence that the regeneration or renewing St. Irenæus speaks of, is to be wrought by the Spirit’s indwelling. And a little after, speaking of our becoming one in Christ, he says, ‘Our bodies receive that unity which is to immortality, by the laver; but our souls by the Spirit<sup>d</sup>:’ shewing again, that he argues here chiefly upon that which is spiritual, and sufficiently implying, the regeneration he had before spoken of was such. The other passage which Dr. Grabe refers to<sup>e</sup>, is, I think,

<sup>c</sup> Lib. iii. cap. 19. p. 243. b. Hunc enim promisit per prophetas effundere in novissimis temporibus super servos et ancillas, ut prophetent: unde et in Filium Dei, Filium hominis factum, descendit, cum ipso assuescens habitare in genere humano, et requiescere in hominibus, et habitare in plasmate Dei, voluntatem Patris operans in ipsis, et renovans eos a vetustate in novitatem Christi.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. p. 244. a. Corpora enim nostra per lavacrum illam, quæ est ad incorruptionem, unitatem acceperunt; animæ autem per Spiritum.

<sup>e</sup> In Irenæum, lib. ii. cap. 39. p. 161. not. 1.

likewise directly to the contrary sense; the words are these: 'Because this kind are subjected to Satan, 'to the denying of the baptism of regeneration to 'God, and the destruction of the whole faith<sup>f</sup>;' &c. Now even here he does not say 'that baptism which is 'regeneration,' no more than the phrase, 'the baptism 'of repentance,' means 'the baptism which is repent- 'ance:' and if it will not follow from this phrase that repentance means baptism, then it will not follow in the other that regeneration means baptism. But it will be yet more clear that regeneration does not mean baptism, by what Irenæus adds; 'But they say it (viz. what they called redemption) 'is necessary, &c., that they may be regenerated 'unto that power which is above all<sup>ε</sup>.' Now this being said of those who deny baptism, the word *regenerated* cannot mean *baptized*: and a little after again it is said, 'Baptism indeed was of Jesus 'for the remission of sins, but the redemption is 'of Christ that came upon him to perfection<sup>h</sup>;' which sufficiently distinguishes baptism from redemption, which 'is necessary that they may be 'regenerated,' for it is opposed to it.

St. Irenæus does not very often use the word *regenerate*; but where he does, I am pretty well assured it never means *baptize*: and though it is not impossible but I may have passed by some passage,

<sup>f</sup> Lib. i. cap. 18. p. 88. Καὶ ὅτι μὲν εἰς ἐξάρνησιν τοῦ βαπτίσματος τῆς εἰς Θεὸν ἀναγεννήσεως, καὶ πάσης τῆς πίστεως ἀπόθεσιν ὑποβίβληται τὸ εἶδος τοῦτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Σατανᾶ.

§ Ibid. Λέγουσι δὲ αὐτὴν ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι—ἵνα εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα δύναμιν ᾧσιν ἀναγεννημένοι.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid. p. 89. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ βάπτισμα τοῦ φαινομένου Ἰησοῦ, ἀφίσεως ἁμαρτιῶν, τὴν δὲ ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ Χριστοῦ κατελθόντος εἰς τελείωσιν.

or mistaken the sense somewhere, yet I have taken so much care, that I think I may very well venture to assert, there is not one place in all Irenæus' books, in which it plainly means baptism, or may not at least full as well mean something else; and that there are instances in which it cannot mean baptism, is beyond dispute. In one place he says, 'How shall they leave the generation of death, if they do not receive the regeneration which is by faith, believing in the new generation given by God in that wonderful unexpected manner in sign of salvation, which was of the virgin by faith<sup>i</sup>?' The regeneration *by faith* here is elsewhere<sup>k</sup> said to be *by the laver*. Now as regeneration is different from the faith *by which* it is in one place; so it is also different from the laver or baptism *by which* it is in the other. But I need add no more, to shew you how much our author is out in saying St. Irenæus has used *regenerate* for *baptize* in all other places of his book; since he uses it so in no part of his writings, and sometimes so as plainly not to mean baptism; and therefore it is not true that it always

<sup>i</sup> Lib. iv. cap. 59. p. 358. a. Quomodo autem relinquet mortis generationem, si non in novam generationem mire et inopinate a Deo, in signum autem salutis, datam, quæ est ex virgine per fidem, [credens eam recipiat quæ est per fidem] regenerationem? [The words enclosed within brackets do not occur in the text. Dr. Grabe conjectured that something to that purport had been lost from the context: 'Hic unum atque alterum verbum excidit, ac Irenæus ita forte scripsit:' but the Benedictine editor (see his edition, fol. Paris, 1720. lib. iv. cap. 33. sect. 4.) considers Grabe to have been completely mistaken, and the sentence to be entire. See Dr. Wall's remarks on the passage, in his 'Defence.']

<sup>k</sup> Lib. v. cap. 15. p. 423. b. Eam quæ est per lavacrum regenerationem, &c.

means baptism in this book ; unless Mr. Wall means in the second book particularly, out of which the citation is taken, and then indeed his assertion cannot be denied ; for the word is used in no other place of that book at all.

Since then the Scriptures, the primitive Fathers, and among the rest St. Irenæus himself, by regeneration never mean baptism, it is highly unreasonable to pretend it means so in this single place ; or if there should be some instances where it does sometimes signify baptism, there are many more, or at least some, where it plainly signifies quite another thing : and therefore, why must it needs mean baptism in this passage ? If it does not mean baptism always, then perhaps it may not in this place neither.

One reason Mr. Wall gives for saying it must mean baptism in this place, is, that here is express mention of infants who ‘ are not capable of regeneration in any other sense of the word, than as it signifies baptism<sup>1</sup>.’ But this is only begging the question. Besides, Mr. Wall contradicts it himself, when he goes about to shew that infants may be regenerated of the Spirit, according to our Lord’s rule, as well as of water ; and tells us, ‘ that God by his Spirit does, at the time of baptism, seal and apply to the infant that is there dedicated to him, the promises of the covenant of which he is capable, viz. adoption, pardon of sin, translation from the state of nature to that of grace, &c., on which account the infant is said to be regenerated of (or by) the Spirit<sup>m</sup>.’ There is another regeneration then

<sup>1</sup> Part i. p. 20. [79.]

<sup>m</sup> Part i. p. 148. [281.] and part ii. p. 126. [188.]

besides baptism, mentioned by our Lord himself, of which our author tells us infants are capable; and why might not this be the regeneration meant by St. Irenæus without baptism? And how came Mr. Wall to be so overseen as to say there is no other regeneration of which they are capable?

2. But this passage of St. Irenæus, though it had been genuine and well translated, would have been liable to a second exception, viz. that the word *infantes* does not necessarily signify here such newborn or young children, as are not capable of reason; but may very well mean only such as can know and believe, and make a profession of their faith. I will not go about to prove that this word and several others of much the same sense, are often applied to grown and even to aged persons, to express their being but young or weak in Christianity, which Mr. Wall and every body allows; because the chapter, as it now stands, speaks of their natural not their Christian age: but however it will not follow that *infantes* means only such children as are wholly incapable of knowing and believing the necessary principles of the Christian religion, which is the supposition of our adversaries; for the term *infant* is of a larger extent.

Indeed if it meant only a sucking child, or one of two or three months or years, or the like, our author might have something to plead: but if it means all persons till twenty-one years of age, as in our English law, he could form no argument from it, though it were said infants were to be baptized. The whole business between us is reduced therefore to this, namely, to determine the period of infancy;

and what must be meant by the word in the passage under consideration.

If it be urged that St. Irenæus says Christ sanctified (*omnem ætatem*) every several age, as Mr. Wall renders it; and consequently that he means the youngest infants too, who must be comprehended in so large an expression: it may be noted that St. Cyprian uses the same phrase, yet so as infants cannot be comprehended, when he says, ‘The word of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, came to all; and gathering both the learned and unlearned, he gave the precepts of salvation to both sexes, and (*omni ætati*)<sup>a</sup> to every several age<sup>n</sup>.’ So when the author of the Recognitions says, ‘Therefore let (*omnis ætas*) every several age, both sexes, and all conditions hasten to repentance<sup>o</sup>,’ &c. undoubtedly he did not mean such infants too, as were not capable of repentance. I will add one instance more, in the words of Dionysius the great bishop of Alexandria<sup>p</sup>, who in a letter to Dometius and Didymus says thus; ‘It is needless to mention the names of the many martyrs among us who were unknown to you; but know this, that men and women, young men and old men, young women and old women, soldiers and private persons, all sorts, and (*πᾶσα ἡλικία*) all ages, some gaining the victory by scourges and fire, and others by the sword, have obtained

<sup>a</sup> De Orat. Domin. p. 107. Nam cum Dei sermo Dominus noster Jesus Christus omnibus venerit, et colligens doctos, pariter et indoctos, omni sexui atque ætati præcepta salutis ediderit, &c. [p. 151. edit. Fell.]

<sup>o</sup> Lib. x. cap. 45. Itaque festinet ad pœnitentiam omnis ætas, omnis sexus, omnisque conditio, &c.

<sup>p</sup> Euseb. Præfat. in lib. vii. Hist. Eccles.

‘their crowns<sup>q</sup>.’ Now as it is incontestable that this phrase cannot include the youngest infants in these instances, so it need not be extended to such in the words of St. Irenæus.

Nor does the enumeration of the several ages make it necessary to understand such infants by the word: we must consider how far each of those ages extends, at what period they begin, and at what they conclude. Now that infancy was not confined to the narrow limits in which we commonly use the word, is, I think, past doubt. Origen has a remarkable passage to this effect: though he does not make use of this particular word, yet the words he does use are equally expressive of the tenderest age. ‘Those,’ says he, ‘who from their childhood and first age are called to do the works of the kingdom of God,’ &c. And St. Irenæus himself in his Epistle to Florinus uses *πρώτη ηλικία*, though it be properly enough said even of new-born infants, in so large a sense as to reach that age, in which he could hear and understand the teachings of St. Polycarp, so as to remember them perfectly well in his old age: from whence it appears that the *first* of those ages, into which they divided man’s life, was not shut up in very narrow bounds.

<sup>q</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. cap. 11. s. 18. Τοὺς δὲ ἡμετέρους πολλοὺς τε ὄντας καὶ ἀγνώτας ὑμῖν, περισσὸν ὀνομαστὶ καταλέγειν· πλὴν ἵστε ὅτι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ νέοι καὶ γέροντες, καὶ κόραι καὶ πρεσβύτες, καὶ στρατιῶται καὶ ἰδιῶται, καὶ πᾶν γένος καὶ πᾶσα ηλικία, οἱ μὲν διὰ μαστίγων καὶ πυρὸς, οἱ δὲ διὰ σιδήρου τὸν ἀγῶνα νικήσαντες, τοὺς στεφάνους ὑπελήφασιν.

<sup>r</sup> In Matt. p. 406. C. Τοὺς μὲν ἐκ παίδων, καὶ πρώτης ηλικίας κληθέντας ἐπὶ τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι τὰ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔργα, &c. [Comm. tom. xvi. sect. 36.]



Feuardentius has noted from Philo, that Hippocrates limits infancy to seven years; but Danet, from the Greek and Latin writers, extends it to fourteen<sup>s</sup>: and this seems to be nearest St. Irenæus' mind, and may be collected from his own words. *Juvenes* extends to between thirty and forty. *Seniores* between forty and fifty, in the latter part of this very chapter, from whence the pædobaptists argue. And as he has thus assigned ten years to each of the last two stages, nothing can be more probable than that the first three were of the same length: upon this computation therefore infancy will reach to ten years of age; *parvuli* will include all from thence to twenty, and *pueri* from twenty to thirty. This is the more confirmed, because it agrees with St. Irenæus' saying, he saw Florinus when he was *puer* (παῖς); for, as the time is laboriously calculated by the accurate Mr. Dodwell, he was then about twenty-five, which falls in very well with that computation which makes the limits of the age St. Irenæus calls *pueros*, to be from twenty to thirty. Mr. Dodwell, who is of the same opinion in this case, very learnedly illustrates the matter, and after him I must not attempt it; and therefore I refer you to his learned dissertations<sup>t</sup>.

If then *infantes*, in the language of St. Irenæus, means not only such as we now commonly call infants, of a few months, but also any under ten years of age; what advantage can the pædobaptists gain by citing this passage? They should prove the youngest infants, who have not the least use of reason, are to be baptized: whereas this place of St.

<sup>s</sup> Diction. Antiq. Rom. et Græc. p. 51.

<sup>t</sup> In Irenæum, Dissertat. iii. §. 6, &c.

Irenæus at most proves only that persons may be baptized under ten years of age. Now we only insist that persons cannot be baptized till they actually know, or at least profess to know and believe the first principles of the Christian religion: they who make such a profession, though ever so young, ought to be baptized. And when the pædobaptists pretend to oppose us, by citing passages in which the words have a larger acceptation than they commonly have at present, it is all trifling, and can make nothing to the purpose, unless the words were taken in the same limited sense in the passage cited, as they are in the question.

As soon as persons are capable of being taught what the apostles required of those they baptized, so soon they may be made fit for, and received to baptism; for there is no other set time when they must be received but this, viz. when they believe. And that children under ten are capable of this, none can doubt who understand any thing of the power of education. Common experience shews us how far that age can go in many things, especially if improved by a good education. If you know any of Mr. Locke's acquaintance, they will tell you many strange truths of the effects of his method on several who have had the happiness to be brought up in it. And pray, why should not that age be thought as capable of the plain easy principles of Christianity as of any thing else? St. Austin<sup>u</sup> himself allows, as our author notes<sup>x</sup>, that at seven years children might be able to make the necessary responses. And I have known some admitted at about fourteen, and heard

<sup>u</sup> Lib. i. de Anima, cap. 10.

<sup>x</sup> Part i. p. 188, [340] and 288, [489.]

of some much younger ; and it is only for want of due care, that there are not many more such instances : so that at most all that can be said from this passage amounts but to this ; That some infants, that is, some under ten years of age, may be admitted to baptism ; which makes nothing against our opinion, for such also may believe. But if it be considered, 1. How doubtful it is whether the passage be genuine ; 2. Whether it be well translated ; 3. Whether it speaks of baptizing ; and lastly, that it is plain it does not necessarily speak of infants so young : it must be allowed that this famous citation, after all the noise it has made, cannot be sufficient for any reasonable man to lay a stress upon it. And yet this is by far the most considerable our adversaries can produce so early. I have now made it appear, that for two hundred years after Christ, nothing can be argued with any force for pædobaptism ; for St. Irenæus lived to about anno 190. And the next author Mr. Wall argues from is Tertullian, who did not write till about the beginning of the third century. What he says shall be referred to the following letter.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

## LETTER XIII.

AN argument against infant-baptism, drawn from Polycrates' letter to Victor—Tertullian no friend to infant-baptism; which makes Mr. Wall begin his citations from him with decrying his authority—His general expressions no argument for pædobaptism—Tertullian's steady meaning easy to be come at, without Mr. Wall's extravagant guesses—Tertullian's mentioning infant-baptism no argument it was practised in his time; but only that some were endeavouring to bring in the practice—Tertullian does not simply advise (as Mr. Wall pretends) to defer the baptizing of children, but argues against it as a thing that ought not to be done—The reading of the passage, on which Mr. Wall grounds his supposition, altogether impertinent and absurd—Tertullian's doctrine concerning baptism inconsistent with pædobaptism—His exposition of 1 Cor. vii. 14. not in favour of baptism—Not one author cited of the first three centuries, who understands that text of baptism—Mr. Wall's endeavours to prove that *ἀγνος*, &c., means *washed*, &c., ineffectual—The sense given by the bishop of Sarum and by Dr. Whitby cannot be the true one—The best interpretation, which can be made upon our author's own principles, is that he so much despises, viz. that by holiness is meant legitimacy—This proved to be the true sense—*Holy* never signifies *baptize*—When Mr. Wall comes to Origen, he cites some passages which are plain to his purpose—But they are only taken from Latin translations—The passage some cite from the Greek remains of this Father (as Mr. Wall himself confesses) proves nothing—The Latin translations from whence the main citations are taken, are very corrupt and licentious—Several learned men confess it—As Grotius, Huetius, Daillé, Du Pin, Tarinus—Which is also abundantly proved, by comparing the translation with the Greek fragments, as now extant—St. Hierome was not more faithful in his translations than Ruffinus—It is very probable they took this liberty in all other things, as well as in those particularly for which Origen was questioned—Ruffinus, notwithstanding what Mr. Wall says to the contrary, took as much liberty with the Epistle to the Romans as he did with other books—

He expressly says he had added many things—Besides, that commentary was very much interpolated before Ruffinus took it in hand—As to the passage taken out of the Homilies on Joshua, it is at best doubtful whether he speaks of infants in age—In one part of these Homilies he has inserted, though it be not in the original, this passage particularly, which is the ground of the pædobaptists' argument—In St. Cyprian's time infant-baptism was practised in Africa; and probably first took rise there, together with infant-communion—The Africans, generally men of weak understanding—The Greek church, probably, had not yet admitted the error—The inference from the whole—A recapitulation—A reason why so much only of Mr. Wall's history as relates to the first centuries, is examined—How infant-baptism was at first brought in use—Errors sprung up in the church very early—This of infant-baptism not brought in all at once, but by degrees: and was occasioned in some measure by their zeal, which was not always according to knowledge, as several other things were—A parallel betwixt this practice and the popish notion of transubstantiation—When John iii. 5. was understood to relate to infants, as well as others, no wonder infants were baptized—Upon just such another mistake of our Saviour's words in John vi. 53. the earliest pædobaptists admitted children to the Lord's supper—Conclusion.

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SIR,

BEFORE I examine what our author urges from Tertullian, I will give you an argument against infant-baptism which naturally falls in about this time: it is, for ought I know, wholly new, and perhaps may not be unacceptable; if it be, you may easily pass it over, for it is but short.

I take it from the letter Polycrates writ to Victor concerning Easter, wherein he says thus: 'I Polycrates, the meanest of you all, according to the tradition of my kinsmen, some of whom also I

‘ follow ; for seven of my relations were bishops, and I am the eighth, and they always celebrated the feast, when the people removed the heaven : I, therefore, brethren, who am sixty-five years old in the Lord<sup>a</sup>,’ &c. Now from these words I gather, 1. That this bishop was descended of Christian parents ; than which nothing can seem more probable, since he himself assures us there had been so many bishops in the family, and it is likely his father was one. Mr. Dodwell, speaking of hereditary priesthood, says, ‘ The priesthood came by inheritance to Scopelianus, an orator in Asia, as Philostratus testifies ; and in like manner perhaps Polycrates was eighth bishop of the same family in Asia<sup>b</sup>.’

2. Polycrates says he was sixty-five years old in the Lord ; which plainly distinguishes between his natural age, and his age in the Lord : several instances of this way of speaking are to be met with in the New Testament. All which put together, I think, shews that though Polycrates was born of Christian parents, he was not baptized in his infancy ; but, according to the use of the church of that time, when he was able to answer for himself. I think there is no need to prove any part of this ;

<sup>a</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. cap. 24. s. 5. “Ετι δὲ καὶ ὁ μικρότερος πάντων ὑμῶν Πολυκράτης, κατὰ παράδοσιν τῶν συγγενῶν μου, οἷς καὶ παρηκολούθησα τισὶν αὐτῶν· ἐπὶ μὲν ἦσαν συγγενεῖς μου ἐπίσκοποι, ἐγὼ δὲ ὄγδοος· καὶ πάντοτε τὴν ἡμέραν ἡγαγον οἱ συγγενεῖς μου, ὅταν ὁ λαὸς ἤρνευε τὴν ζύμην· ἐγὼ οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ἐξήκοντα πέντε ἔτη ἔχων ἐν Κυρίῳ, &c.

<sup>b</sup> De jure Laic. Sacerdot. p. 220. Sacerdotium Scopeliano rhetori in Asia hæreditarium fuisse testis est Philostratus, quo etiam exemplo fortasse Polycrates in eadem Asia octavus ejusdem familiæ gessit inter Christianos episcopatum.

and therefore I leave the argument with you as it is, and proceed now to Tertullian.

Mr. Wall begins with lessening Tertullian's reputation, and accuses him of having fallen into 'great and monstrous errors.' Is all this severity against Tertullian, because his books afford several arguments against pædobaptism? Mr. Wall says, 'Tertullian has spoke so in this matter of infant-baptism, as that it is hard to reconcile the several passages with one another<sup>c</sup>:' which is pretty strange too; for our author cites but one place where this Father speaks of it at all, and there he speaks against it: and I do not see any need to reconcile this with other passages which do not speak of it.

But it seems Tertullian, in some places, speaks of the necessity of baptism in such general terms, as to reckon 'those that die unbaptized, as lost men:' and from thence our author concludes, that to be sure Tertullian, and the church of that time, thought children ought to be baptized. The answer is short and easy; for he does, in as general terms, say, 'They who come to be baptized, do, at the place and time of baptism, and before, in the church, renounce the Devil<sup>d</sup>,' &c. And he frequently says full as much of the necessity of faith as he does of baptism; in imitation of the Scriptures, which say, that *now God hath commanded all men every where to repent, Acts xvii. 30. And that he will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth, 1 Tim. ii. 4.* Again, *Without faith it is*

<sup>c</sup> [Part i. p. 88.]

<sup>d</sup> De Corona, p. 102. A. Aquam adituri, ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia sub antistitis manu contestamur nos renunciare Diabolo. [Cap. 3.]

*impossible to please God, Heb. xi. 6. Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord, Heb. xii. 14.* Tertullian cannot possibly express himself more universally than these holy writers have here done, and yet nobody imagines infants are included; and therefore such expressions afford no more reason to say, Tertullian any where countenances the baptism of infants, than when he says, 'This command is given to all, Seek and ye shall find <sup>d</sup>.'

After Mr. Wall has cited several passages which he thinks a little inconsistent with one another, he pretends to guess at what might be 'his steady meaning (if he had any<sup>e</sup>;) for that is very doubtful in our author's opinion. But indeed I think it is easy to see that Tertullian thought baptism was necessary to all such as had heard of Christ, and of its institution; and that such could not be saved if they refused to own his authority; but he says no such thing of others, who were incapable of knowing or doing the Divine will. And therefore he excuses the patriarchs expressly from that necessity<sup>f</sup>, because it was not possible they should practise what was then not instituted, or believe Jesus was the Messiah, when he was not yet come: the same thing in effect he says of infants too, where he opposes their being baptized till they are capable of knowing and desiring to come to Christ.

But our adversaries argue, since Tertullian mentions infant-baptism, it must have been known and practised in his time; and though he opposes it, his

<sup>d</sup> De Præscript. ad Hæretic. p. 205. D. Omnibus dictum sit, Quærite et invenietis, &c. [cap. 9.]

<sup>e</sup> Part i. p. 28. [96.]

<sup>f</sup> De Baptismo, cap. 13. p. 229. D.



private opinion signifies nothing: for it is the practice of the church, and not the opinion of one doctor, which is to be regarded. To this we may return;—

1. That Tertullian, as is plain from many other places, speaks so of baptism, as is utterly inconsistent with pædobaptism; and the passage particularly here referred to, if it were a little doubtful, might be cleared up by them.

2. That it at most only proves, there were some persons at that time, who among many other wild notions were about to introduce this of the necessity of baptism to the salvation of infants; and not, as Mr. Wall pretends, that it was the opinion of the church, or that they practised infant-baptism.

Had it been the settled practice and judgment of the church, and what they thought was supported by the authority and tradition of the apostles, &c., it cannot be imagined that Tertullian should venture to oppose it; or if he did, that he should employ no more pains to excuse what seemed to contradict the doctrine and practice of the apostles and the whole church.

But, says Mr. Wall, it is plain Tertullian only pleaded for deferring the baptism of infants when there was no immediate danger of death, because in some (which he takes to be the truer) copies, it is said, ‘For what need is there unless in cases of necessity,’ &c., implying, that in cases of danger they ought indeed to be baptized without delay: but the tautology of these words seems very impertinent, as if Tertullian had argued thus; either there is some necessity, or there is no necessity; if there is no necessity, then what necessity is there? For the pas-

sage, as Mr. Wall would read it, will run exactly thus: 'What necessity is there unless there be a necessity?' Pamelius, upon whose authority our author builds, confesses he has it only from Gagnæus, whose single judgment is not sufficient. Rigaltius notes\*, that 'copies differ,' and says that the old Paris edition, meaning that of Gagnæus, (but without adding any other that does so too,) foolishly repeats the word *neceesse*. And Grotius<sup>b</sup>, observing the same variety, confesses he 'cannot see what tolerable sense those words can have;' and therefore he leaves them out as spurious. And till better authorities can be produced to confirm that reading, we shall think the repetition too silly for Tertullian, and therefore reject it.

It is frivolous to say Tertullian is as much against the baptism of all unmarried persons, &c., as of infants; as Mr. Wall does from bishop Fell<sup>i</sup>. He advises such, indeed, as are in any danger of sinning, to delay their being baptized; but he plainly opposes the baptism of infants upon quite different topics, namely, because they are incapable of that sacrament, and because they have no need of it, and it ought not to be administered to them. He makes it therefore useless and unlawful to baptize infants; but does not intimate so of unmarried persons, &c.

How unfit infants are for baptism, he shews in other places; as when he says, 'The soul is sanctified not by washing, but by *the answer of a good*

\* In the first edition, anno 1634. [I do not find any such remark in that edition; namely, folio, Paris. 1634.]

<sup>b</sup> In Matth. xix. 14.

<sup>i</sup> In Cyprian, Epist. 64.

‘conscience<sup>k</sup>’ as St. Peter says, 1 Epist. ch. iii. 21, to which place Tertullian probably alludes. And again, to omit abundance more which might be cited, arguing about the use and necessity of repentance, he says, ‘baptism is the seal of faith; which faith is begun and adorned by the faith of repentance. We are not therefore washed that we may leave sinning, but because we have already done it, and are already purified in our hearts!’ Are these the words of a man who thought baptism might be given to infants? Are infants already purified in heart? Have they left sinning? And are they therefore washed? Have they any such faith as Tertullian here speaks of? And yet he says, baptism is the seal of this sort of faith particularly; and therefore doubtless he thought the seal could not be regularly applied where this faith was wanting. But our adversaries do not much heed what Tertullian says, he being so much against them; though if he is thought to speak any thing in their favour, he is a good authority enough. And therefore Mr. Wall was unwilling to slip the occasion of noting from Tertullian’s exposition of 1 Cor. vii. 14, that those words are by him understood of baptism, and the holiness there spoken of, is *baptismal holiness*. But what advantage he proposed to himself by this I cannot guess; for he allows Tertullian paraphrases *holy* by *designed for holiness*, and therefore only

<sup>k</sup> De Resurrection. cap. 48. p. 355. B. Anima non lavatione sed responsione sancitur.

<sup>l</sup> De Pœnitentia, cap. 6. p. 125. B. Lavacrum illud obsignatio est fidei, quæ fides a pœnitentiæ fide incipitur et commendatur. Non ideo abluimur, ut delinquere desinamus, sed quia desinimus: quoniam jam corde loti sumus.

meant at most that they were designed to be baptized in time, which is opposite to the sense the modern pædobaptists plead for.

Besides, I do not see Tertullian gives any intimation that he understood this passage to relate to baptism at all; on the contrary, he says, they are 'holy by the prerogative of that seed, and the instruction in their education<sup>m</sup>,' but not a word of baptism: nay he, as plainly as words can express, refers to the cleanness or holiness of birth, and understands St. Paul so too, when he repeats his sense thus, 'of either parent sanctified, the children are born holy.' I hope you do not think he meant they were born *baptized*; and again he adds, 'otherwise they would be born unclean;' which passages Mr. Wall has not rightly translated, as you may see by comparing his English with the Latin.

Though Mr. Wall has taken such pains<sup>n</sup> to shew, the ancients generally understood this passage concerning baptism, yet he has not once attempted to shew that any of the Fathers of the first three hundred years understood it so; and I do not remember that a single instance can be produced for it from their writings, though I might easily produce several to the contrary from St. Irenæus, St. Clement of Alexandria, &c. And as for the following centuries, in which infant-baptism, together with a multitude of intolerable errors, prevailed in the church, it is not to be wondered at, if several passages of Scripture were strangely misapplied, to defend them.

To as little purpose are all Mr. Wall's endeavours

<sup>m</sup> De Anima, cap. 39. Tam ex seminis prærogativa, quam ex institutionis disciplina. [p. 294. B.]

<sup>n</sup> Part i. p. 217, &c. [385, &c.]

to shew<sup>o</sup> the words ἅγιος, ἀγιάζεσθαι, ἀγνίζευ, &c., mean *to wash*, or *baptize*. For, not to enter nicely into the examination of the matter, it is plain they much more commonly mean no such thing; in Scripture they signify *to consecrate*, Ezek. xxii. 26; *to hallow*, Matt. vi. 9; and sometimes they mean the sanctification of our lives and actions, Lev. xx. 7, and frequently elsewhere. For what reason then will our adversaries so resolutely fix a sense here, that is seldom, if ever used, rather than any of the more common and easy acceptations? Why may not we read the place, ‘the unbelieving husband has been prevailed on by the believing wife to forsake his former vices and irregular course of life,’ &c., as well as according to the pædobaptist’s paraphrase? especially since the apostle in the next verse but one, shews he had that in his mind, *For what knowest thou, O wife, whether thou shalt save thy husband* <sup>p</sup> &c. It is thus Origen seems to understand it by his saying, ‘When the husband believes first, he sometimes saves his wife; and when the wife believes first, she *persuades* her husband <sup>q</sup>.’

Dr. Whitby is very accurate in proving, the words speak only of seminal holiness, as is also the right reverend bishop of Sarum<sup>r</sup>: but if this were allowed, it does not immediately follow the children must be baptized, because the parents are

<sup>o</sup> Part i. p. 82, 83, &c. [181, 182, &c.]

<sup>p</sup> [See Dr. Wall’s ‘Defence,’ on this exposition of Origen’s sentiments on the texts in question.]

<sup>q</sup> In Matt. p. 332. Ὅτε μὲν ὁ ἀνὴρ πρότερον πιστεύσας τῷ χρόνῳ σώζει τὴν γυναῖκα, ὅτε δὲ ἡ γυνὴ ἀρξαμένη ὑστερόν ποτε πείθει τὸν ἄνδρα. [Comment. xiii. cap. 28. edit. Benedict.]

<sup>r</sup> Articles, p. 305, 306. [article XXVII.]

believers; which our adversaries take for granted, though it is the very thing in question. And the whole argument depends upon this *petitio principii*, as is plain if we put it into form. All the holy seed, that is, all who are born of Christian parents, ought to be baptized: but infants are the holy seed, therefore infants are to be baptized.

Besides, it cannot be pretended that *sanctified* means *seminally holy* in the former part of the verse; which makes it the more unlikely it means so in the latter part, though it should signify so elsewhere.

Nay, further, upon the hypothesis of some of our adversaries, which is also the most rational by far, what St. Paul says here is utterly false, and must appear so to all considerate men. The only reason why infants are to be admitted to baptism, St. Paul says, according to them, is, that one of the parents is Christian; but if so, then all others, though brought to be baptized by ever so good sureties, are not to be admitted, for they are unclean; but this is contrary to God's infinite goodness and justice, and also to the hypothesis which the most judicious pædobaptists now generally follow. And besides, it gives the Jewish dispensation the advantage over the Christian in this respect, that the infants born of heathen parents might be brought to circumcision, and so entered into that covenant; whereas the grace of Christ must be limited to narrower bounds, while none can be admitted but those born of at least one Christian parent.

The justest interpretation which can be made upon our author's own principles, I think, is that which he so much despises, namely, that by *holi-*

ness is only meant *legitimacy*. For if proselytism, among the Jews, dissolved all natural ties and relations, so as to make it lawful for a man to marry his own mother<sup>r</sup>, &c., because she could now no longer be accounted his mother; and if it made it unlawful for a man to cohabit with his former wife, she being also no longer accounted his wife; and if the Christians thought their regeneration to Christianity as extensive as that of the Jews, from whom they borrowed this notion<sup>s</sup>: what can be more proper and natural than to suppose St. Paul is endeavouring to put better thoughts into his converts, and persuade them that their proselytism did not dissolve natural bonds and consanguinity, and that it was not only lawful, but advisable, and a duty for the wife to dwell with her husband? for he is still her legitimate true husband; otherwise indeed, says he, your children would be unclean, as bastards were accounted; but the husband being legitimate, the children are so too.

This sense is derived from our author's own principles, and therefore, I think, he ought not to except against it. And it seems to be the true one, if we observe that the holiness of the children is said to result, not from the Christianity of either parent, but from the husband's being sanctified by, or to the wife. Now what can this holiness be, which springs from thence? The baptism of the parents cannot serve for the children, nor do I see that in any other sense, beside what is given, the sanctification of the parents can denominate the children holy.

And though I cannot allow of Mr. Wall's hypo-

<sup>r</sup> Wall's *Introd.* p. 21. [31.]

<sup>s</sup> *Ibid.* [32.]

thesis concerning the pretended Jewish regeneration, yet I urge this to be the true sense of the place, because it is otherwise plain the Jews did not think it lawful to continue with a stranger in marriage, Nehem. xiii. 23, &c., as neither did the Christians, as may appear from St. Justin Martyr's Apology. And the Greek church, even to this day, account it unlawful to marry with any out of their own communion, for all such they look upon as heathens, out of the Lord ; and the children of such marriages are to them but bastards. Under the Jewish dispensation indeed it was unlawful, but when Christ came, he disallowed the divorces Moses had tolerated, for *the hardness of their hearts* : it is true, he still left it unlawful to marry out of the Lord ; but as for marriages already contracted in unbelief, though one party afterwards became a believer, the Christian law did not oblige to put away the other who did not believe, for Christ allows no cause of divorce, *but fornication only*. Since then a mistake in this doctrine did arise in the church, and St. Paul is expressly speaking of this very case, and endeavouring to convince them, as appears by the whole context, of their error ; what can be more natural, than to take the words in the sense Mr. Wall so scornfully rejects ?

But however, I think it is past all doubt, the word *holy* cannot signify *baptized*, as Mr. Wall would have it, and none of his instances prove it does. Lev. vi. 27, for example, only expresses, that whatever touched the flesh of the sin-offering should *be sanctified* ; the word is general, and must be understood to mean, according to the directions given in the law, and imports no more : and if they



sanctified such things by washing, it was not from any such sense in the word *sanctify*, which signifies no one way more than another, but from particular precepts which determined the way of sanctifying; as in some cases it was by making such things as *abide the fire to go through the fire*, Numb. xxxi. 23; and in this of touching the flesh of a sin-offering, perhaps it was by washing, though this is not expressed; but if it were, why should we hence pretend *sanctify* means *wash*, any more than that it signifies *to anoint*, because in Exod. xxix. 36, it is said of the altar, *Thou shalt anoint it to sanctify it?* And, in short, why may not *sanctified* and *holy*, in the passage in dispute, be understood in the same sense in which our Lord says, *The temple sanctifieth the gold*, and that *the altar sanctifieth the gift*, Matt. xxiii. 17, 19? Here is plainly no manner of reference to *washing*. Why may not the husband be sanctified by the wife, and the children by both, in the same sense as the gold is sanctified by the temple, whatever that be? And the sense I put upon the words will appear the more probable, if it be observed, that the Jews use קדש to signify *chaste*, as Castellus notes on the word, and קדשה for a *harlot*. And Buxtorf<sup>t</sup> informs us, the word was used by the rabbins to express ‘the consecration of ‘the bride to the bridegroom, &c., in marriage;’ and so קדוש is used for the ‘thing, (viz. the ring or gift,) by ‘which the ceremony of betrothing is performed’<sup>u</sup>.

<sup>t</sup> Lexic. Talmud. ad Voc. Col. 1978. Apud rabbinos præterea קדש synecdochice dicitur de consecratione sponsæ ad conjugium.

<sup>u</sup> Ibid. Col. 1980. Res ipsa, per quam fit desponsatio, veluti annulus aut donum, quo desponsatur puella.

And so the third book of the Seder דפוס, is called דפוס, because it treats of matrimonial contracts, the several ways of betrothing and consecrating, and decides many difficult cases which arise on these points. All this is highly in favour of the exposition I give; while our adversaries can make no use of St. Paul's words, till they can prove that by *holy* he meant *baptized*, or else, that because children are here said to be holy, they must therefore be baptized, which they are pleased generally to take for granted.

The next author Mr. Wall argues from is Origen. And here indeed we confess, the passages cited are very full and plain testimonies for infant-baptism; for as Mr. Wall says, 'The plainness is such as needs nothing to be said of it, nor admits any thing to be said against it\*.' But yet we may observe,

1. That these, which are the only direct clear passages yet produced to our author's purpose, are not Origen's own words, but taken from a licentious Latin translation, while not the least colour of any thing can be urged from what remains of that Father's in the Greek, and yet we have more of his in the Greek than of any Father who wrote before him. And, I think, this is very remarkable, that what St. Origen says in favour of infant-baptism, should be all in those Latin translations, and nothing of the same nature to be met with in such considerable remains in the Greek. Some indeed cite a passage from the Greek, which Mr. Wall thinks is better let alone, for the whole force of it, he says, depends upon an artful leaving out such

\* Part i. p. 35. [106.]

words as puzzle the cause; had they been indeed left out in the original by Origen, Mr. Wall thinks 'he must there have been understood of infants in 'age'.' But I see no such necessity of this: the place, it is true, had been much more doubtful, and perhaps might as well have been understood of such, as of men resembling infants; but it could not have been necessary to understand it of infants in age; for why might not Origen have meant the same thing he does now, though he had not expressed himself so clearly?

But since the words are put in, they unavoidably shew he did not speak of infants in age: and sir Peter King's proving the same word is at some pages' distance used by Origen for infants in age, does not prove it must mean so here too. The Father is speaking of guardian angels, and puts this question, 'Whether they take the care and 'management of persons, from the time when they 'by the washing of regeneration, whereby they 'were new-born, do as new-born babes desire the 'sincere milk of the word,' &c. It is strange Mr. Wall should say, after all his pretences to impartiality and fairness, that the 'mention of their desiring of the milk of the word at the time of their 'baptism, makes it doubtful (only) whether he 'meant of such who are infants in a proper sense': for it can be no doubt to any man in his wits, whether infants of a month or two can desire the sincere milk of the word. But Mr. Wall goes on to observe, that the answer Origen gives to this question increases the doubt; and this he grounds upon these words: 'The time of people's unbelief is under the

† Part i. p. 40. [114.]

‡ Part i. p. 41. [116.]

'angels of Satan; and then after their new birth, 'he that has bought us with his own blood, delivers 'them to a good angel.' I am confident nobody can imagine these words are spoken of infants; and therefore, quite contrary to Mr. Wall's pretence, they take away all ambiguity which might have been in the words, and clearly shew, that Origen spoke, not of infants in age, but only of such *little ones as believe in Christ*.

Besides this, I do not remember any thing is cited from Origen in the Greek, which are his only authentic pieces: but many things might be strongly urged from thence against the baptism of infants. I have already cited on another occasion a passage very much to this purpose; and it is certain as to the rest, that wherever he speaks of baptism, he speaks of it in relation to the adult only.

2. But the next observation I make, and which utterly invalidates all Mr. Wall's citations, is; that they are not only taken from translators instead of originals, but that those translations are made with abundance of liberty, without keeping to the sense of the original, and therefore they cannot be thought authentic enough to ground an argument upon them; for we can never know what Origen says, from what the translators have altered and inserted. The translations of the Fathers, it is notorious, have a very bad name, and those of Origen in particular.

Cassiodorus, somewhere speaking of Clemens Alexandrinus' commentaries on the canonical Epistles, says, 'He has expressed many things very 'acutely, and some very unwarily; which we have 'caused to be translated into Latin, in such a

‘manner, as, omitting what might give offence, his ‘pure and wholesome doctrine might be the more ‘safely imbibed<sup>a</sup>.’ And as to Origen in particular, Grotius says, ‘A great deal of what is ascribed to ‘him is an unknown author’s, and a great deal is ‘interpolated<sup>b</sup>.’ And Huetius, who has perhaps taken the most pains with Origen of any man, says, in general of his remains, that they are very imperfect and much abused, or else changed and ‘deformed ‘by abominable translations<sup>c</sup>.’ Mr. Daillé makes his earnings of this, and notes that Ruffinus ‘has so ‘filthily mangled, and so licentiously confounded ‘the writings of Origen, &c., which he has translated into Latin, that you will hardly find a page ‘where he has not retrenched, or added, or altered ‘something<sup>d</sup>.’ Mr. Du Pin several times repeats the same thing, and says, ‘Those [pieces] which we ‘have in Latin are translated by Ruffinus and others ‘with so much liberty, that it is a difficult matter ‘to discern what is Origen’s own, from what has ‘been foisted in by the interpreter<sup>e</sup>.’ In another place he says, ‘Ruffinus gave himself a great deal ‘of liberty in his translations, and kept more ‘to the sense which he judged ought to be given

<sup>a</sup> Cassiodor. *Inst. Divin. Lect. lib. i.* Ubi multa quidem subtiliter, sed aliqua incaute locutus est: quæ nos ita transferri fecimus in Latinum, ut exclusis quibusdam offendiculis, purificata doctrina ejus securior posset hauriri. [Apud *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. vi. p. 55. C. edit. Paris. 1575.]

<sup>b</sup> In *Matth. xix. 14.* Cui quæ ascribuntur quædam sunt incerti auctoris quædam interpolata.

<sup>c</sup> *Origenian. lib. iii. cap. 2. sect. 3. §. 1.* Perversis interpretationibus deformatæ.

<sup>d</sup> *De usu Patrum, lib. i. cap. 4.*

<sup>e</sup> *Hist. Eccles. vol. i. p. 117.* [p. 100. edit. 1693.]

‘to authors, than to their words. In short, his translations are paraphrases rather than literal and faithful versions. He hath used much freedom particularly in Eusebius’ History, and in Origen’s Treatises, where he hath changed, added, and struck out many things, as he acknowledgeth himself.’ And again, ‘St. Hierome,’ he says, ‘somewhere upbraids him with it : and besides, this appears by the translation itself, which is full of figures, and allusions to Latin words; of terms taken in another sense than what they were in Origen’s time, where the Trinity and other mysteries are expressed in such terms as were not used till after the council of Nice, and where there are points of discipline more modern than Origen’s age; which has given occasion to those who have not considered the liberty that Ruffinus took of adding or leaving out what he pleased, to doubt whether the greatest part of these works were Origen’s or no. The liberty which Ruffinus has given himself is still more evident, by what he has written in the prologue to his version of the commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans, which, he says, he has abridged by above the half. St. Hierome’s versions are not more exact &c.’ To these we may add an expression of Tarinus, in his notes on the Philocalia, who says, ‘Ruffinus has perverted the whole proem, and, as he usually does, altogether forsakes the original<sup>h</sup>.’

And all this is abundantly evident, not only from

<sup>f</sup> Hist. Eccles. vol. iii. p. 108.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. vol. i. p. 132. [p. 100. edit. 1693.]

<sup>h</sup> Ad cap. i. p. 1. ver. 28. Totum porro hoc præmium Ruffinus contorsit, et ut solet, in alia omnia abiit

this cloud of unexceptionable witnesses, but also from comparing the versions with the originals as now extant, which you may do at your leisure, and also from their own confessions in the several introductions and closes published together with the translations.

What man in the world could persuade himself that an argument may be founded on such versions? For how can he know whether Origen spoke any thing like what he now reads, since the translators were so scandalously guilty of altering and putting in what they pleased? And since Mr. Wall allows this too, he to be sure should not have urged these passages.

But to this objection, which he owns is very considerable, he answers, 1. That though Ruffinus was so guilty in this point, yet St. Hierome took a more faithful method, 'expressing every thing as 'it was in the original<sup>1</sup>:' and therefore, since the passage he transcribes from the commentaries on St. Luke, translated by St. Hierome, contains the same thing in effect, with those transcribed from Ruffinus' translations, it is to be supposed Ruffinus altered nothing in those particulars.

But, sir, you need only compare St. Hierome's translations with the originals; to see that his versions, as monsieur Du Pin says, 'are not more 'exact' than those of Ruffinus; many things he has left out, and given a different turn to others, as might be shewn in abundance of instances. His version of Eusebius' Chronicon is a great example of his liberty in translating: as is also his book *De Locis Hebraicis*, in the preface of which he

<sup>1</sup> Part i. p. 36. [108.]

confesses he has omitted what he thought not worth remembering, and altered the greatest part of it. Nay, he owns he took such a freedom in translating Origen<sup>k</sup>, as to strike out what was dangerous, and leave only that which was useful; which made Scaliger say, St. Hierome was but a bad translator<sup>l</sup>.

2. In the next place our author pretends, that whatever might have been altered and interpolated in other matters, there is no manner of probability any thing was done so in the point of infant-baptism; because it was none of the subjects on which Origen's opinion was questioned, at that time. But Mr. Wall might as well pretend they *left out* nothing but what related to those points, as that they *altered* nothing else; which however would be false. And you may remember, monsieur Du Pin observes that the translations contain several points of discipline more modern than Origen's age: and though they took particular care of those things which were disputed, yet it does not follow they made no manner of alteration in any others: on the contrary, it is very likely, they who had once given themselves a liberty to make their author speak their thoughts, have done it oftener than we are aware. And that they did so, you will be convinced by revising Origen's fragments with their translations; where, through ignorance or carelessness, or whatever might be the cause, there are a great many deviations from the originals in passages which do not concern the points on which Origen's opinion was questioned.

<sup>k</sup> Epist. lxii. ad Theoph. Alex. [Ep. lxxxii. edit. Vallars.] Et lib. ii. Apol. contra Ruffin.

<sup>l</sup> Scaligerana, p. 191.



Besides, when the translators own the fact so fully, and warn their readers of the great alterations they have made, it is not to be supposed they would be understood to have altered only those things which were disputed ; but that they altered so much, that some people thought they should rather have published the work under their own names, as the authors, and not as translators ; which appears from the peroration at the end of the version of the commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans. And in Ruffinus' version of the fragment of this commentary, which makes the twenty-fifth chapter of the Philocalia, there are hardly any footsteps of the original preserved, or any thing in which they agree.

3. In the third place, our author says, though Ruffinus usually took such a latitude, and so strangely altered the commentary on Leviticus more especially, yet he dealt otherwise with that on the Epistle to the Romans, from which the principal citation is taken ; for Ruffinus only says, ' he had shortened this work by one half, but speaks of ' no addition. And it is in this,' says our author, ' that there is mention of the tradition from the ' apostles,' that baptism should be given to infants. Observe the inference ; a man, who was wont to put out, insert, and change whatever he pleased with an unbounded liberty, must now be supposed only to have shortened the work without any addition or change, because he only says, ' he had shortened it,' and does not say he added any thing to it : but neither does he say the contrary, and therefore it is unreasonable to suppose he acted here differently from his constant practice.

Nay, he confesses, he has added many things of his own; for he says, 'that there was a great deal of the body of the book wanting, in all libraries<sup>m</sup>.' And this he has endeavoured in some measure to supply. And in the peroration, he adds<sup>n</sup>, 'They tell me, there is so much of your own in these things, that you ought to call them by your own name, and entitle the work, An Explication of the Epistle to the Romans, by Hierome, [Ruffinus<sup>o</sup>,] for example,' &c., which is a sign there was less of Origen in this work than of the translator. To this Ruffinus answers, without denying the charge: 'But I have more regard to my conscience, than to a great name; and though I add some things, and supply what was wanting, and shorten what seems too long, I do not think I therefore ought to put my own name in the title, and rob him of the work who laid the foundation, and furnished materials for the structure<sup>p</sup>.'

<sup>m</sup> Præfat. Desunt enim fere apud omnium bibliothecas (incertum sane quo casu) aliquanta ex ipso corpore volumina.

<sup>n</sup> Aiunt enim mihi; in his quæ scribis, quoniam plurima in eis tui operis habentur, da titulum nominis tui, et scribe Rufini (verbi gratia) in Epistolam ad Romanos explanationum libri.

<sup>o</sup> [It is rather surprising, that Mr. Gale should here, both in the quotation and his own version of it, have substituted the name of *Jerome* for that of *Ruffinus*, thereby wholly destroying the force of his illustration. It would almost seem that he had taken the quotation at secondhand from some careless copyist, and in his hurry had failed to perceive that the drift of the argument lies here; 'people say to me, there is so little of Jerome's here and so much of your own, why do you not at once affix *your* name to the books instead of *his*, and call them *Ruffinus*' explication.']

<sup>p</sup> Verum ego, qui plus conscientiæ meæ quam nomini defero, etiamsi addere aliqua videor, et explere quæ desunt, aut brevare

If therefore we may take Ruffinus' own word for it, he has made as free with this commentary on the Romans, as with the other pieces he translated. Which is likewise incontestably evident, if you compare, as I said before, the twenty-fifth chapter of the Philocalia with Ruffinus' version. Besides it may be added, that the commentary was miserably interpolated before Ruffinus took it in hand, which he complains of in the preface; and therefore if he had been ever so faithful, no certain argument could be drawn from these commentaries.

Mr. Wall cites another passage, from the Homilies on Joshua, in these words; 'According to that saying of our Lord concerning infants, (and thou wast an infant when thou wast baptized;) *their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.*' And to strengthen this, he says, 'Though this part of Origen's works be not extant in Greek, yet we may the more depend upon it, because Ruffinus assures us, that in the translation of these Homilies, &c., he has neither added nor omitted any thing, but truly rendered what he found in the Greek books<sup>q</sup>.' But,

1. It is doubtful, as Mr. Wall himself also notes, whether by 'thou wast an infant when thou wast baptized,' he means an infant in age, or only in a spiritual sense. And,

2. Though Ruffinus says he has translated these Homilies as he found them in the Greek, he only means in comparison with the liberty he usually

quæ longa sunt, furari tamen titulum ejus qui fundamenta operis jecit, et construendi ædificii materiam præbuit, rectum non puto.

<sup>q</sup> Part i. p. 42. [117, 118.]

took with other books: but that he added and very much altered even these Homilies too, cannot well be doubted; for if we compare that fragment of the twentieth homily, which is the twelfth chapter of the Philocalia, with his translation, you will see nothing can be more different; and particularly he inserts these words; ‘As the Lord said of the little ones of the church, that their angels do always stand before the Lord, and see his face.’ Which are not in the Greek of Origen; and therefore, as Ruffinus has added them here of his own head, it is as probable he did so in the other passage our author cites. Thus, upon the whole, I think it sufficiently appears, that what is urged from Origen for pædobaptism, has no force in it.

After Origen, St. Cyprian follows in Mr. Wall's quotations; who, I confess, does plainly enough speak of infant-baptism, as practised in Africa in his time. But it is to be noted, he speaks as plainly of infant-communion too; and therefore if his authority is sufficient for admitting infants to one sacrament, it ought to be allowed sufficient for the admitting them to the other also. It is to be observed likewise, that the first mention we have of infant-baptism is from these Carthaginian Fathers, which makes it very probable that it began first at Carthage. It was attempted in Tertullian's time; and he, you know, sir, opposed it strenuously. But notwithstanding, it took footing there shortly after, and was very common in St. Cyprian's time; and St. Austin thought it an apostolical tradition; just as dipping, from being held necessary, was first dispensed with in some extraordinary cases, then counted indifferent, and afterwards wholly laid aside, nay counted

unlawful too; and all within the space of half a century, here in England; and the error grew as fast among the Africans, who were generally men of weak understandings. Mr. Wall himself makes Fidus but an indifferent man for a bishop, when he says, ‘all he objected of sense, was the rule of ‘circumcision on the eighth day’.<sup>1</sup> And truly I must agree with him, there was not much sense in the other things he urged, nor indeed in this neither: for he might as well have baptized on the seventh day, because God rested thereon; as on the eighth day, because Isaac was circumcised thereon. But however, if Fidus was satisfied with St. Cyprian’s answer, I think this far the greatest argument of his weakness, that he could suffer himself to be imposed on with so trifling and empty a reply.

But though the African bishops were no wiser than to admit the error, perhaps only as an indifferent thing, or in cases of danger; the Greek churches seem very plainly to have been still of another opinion. For Dionysius, the illustrious bishop of Alexandria, in an epistle to Dionysius a presbyter, and afterwards bishop of Rome, concerning Novatian, says, ‘he utterly disallows of holy baptism, and subverts ‘the faith and profession which goes before it’.<sup>2</sup> As this great man speaks of baptism in general, so he must be understood to mean, that in his judgment, there was, at that time, a faith and profession always to precede it. And it is impossible a man who never dreamed of infant-baptism should speak more plainly against it: nor can we expect to find any

<sup>1</sup> Part i. p. 52. [138.]

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. c. 8. Τὸ λουτρὸν ἀθετοῦντι τὸ ἄγιον, καὶ τὴν τε πρὸ αὐτοῦ πίστιν καὶ ὁμολογίαν ἀνατρέποντι.

passages more inconsistent with that practice than this is.

It will not be worth our while to examine how the error advanced in after-times, and by what arts and changes it extended itself, and became so universally established, as we see it at present. It is sufficient that the Scriptures, the only infallible rule of our faith and practice, are found not to favour the cause we disown; and that the authority of the primitive fathers also, for at least two hundred and fifty years after Christ, give no countenance to our adversaries, but are rather against them. I think we have abundant reason therefore to persist in the opinion and practice we profess, notwithstanding the greatest numbers of the most learned and most powerful are against us; and have been so, it may be, several hundred years.

But to sum up the evidence something more at large, I must desire you to remember it has been clearly proved :

I. First in regard to the pretended silence of the Scriptures: 1. That instead of yielding our adversaries any argument, it follows strongly from thence, that pædobaptism can be no institution of Christ, as being nowhere mentioned in the only authentic Christian records. And therefore to teach and practise, and much more to impose it on others, as an ordinance of Christ, is altogether unwarrantable. 2. That the Scriptures are not so silent in this respect as is pretended; and that though they do not expressly mention and forbid to baptize infants, they do yet require and make such conditions and circumstances necessary in those who are to be admitted, as sufficiently and unavoidably exclude

infants as much as if it had been said expressly, *infants are not* to be baptized. And this I proved by shewing, among other things, that the commission, Matt. xxviii. 19, more especially, is so expressed, as by no means to admit of infants. And here, to take off all the pretences the pædobaptists can be supposed to make, and withal the more strongly to enforce the argument we draw from the place, I have largely shewn, the Greek word *μαθητεύω* always, but more especially in this commission, necessarily includes teaching in its signification : 1. By its etymology, and the analogy of the Greek tongue ; by many incontestable instances of its use in the Greek authors, whether profane or ecclesiastical, as well as in the Scriptures themselves, wherein it can be no otherwise understood ; and by other synonymous words and phrases which frequently occur in parallel cases. To all which I added the allowance and confession of several of the most learned and judicious writers, even pædobaptists themselves. 2. By the constant and universal agreement of all the learned versions, and as many vernacular ones as I have had opportunity of consulting, which all render the word by *teach*. 3. By the authority of the ancient Fathers, who continually read and understand the word in that sense only. And lastly, by the more awful authority of the sacred Scriptures themselves, which do abundantly confirm our sense of the commission ; by parallel places, and other allusions ; and by shewing, that the apostles understood and obeyed the commission in this sense only.

II. After this, I considered the pretended practice of the Jews, which makes so much noise among the pædobaptists ; and have shewn evidently, 1. That

the authorities Mr. Wall cites from the Jews are not ancient enough to assure us what was practised either before, in, or near our Saviour's time. 2. That none of the passages so much as assert or intimate in the least, that the Jews baptized proselytes in Christ's time, which was the thing to be proved. 3. That the best passage Mr. Wall has, does not necessarily mean baptism for proselytism, but may very probably speak of something else. 4. To these things I added, that some of the rabbins do speak against this ceremony, and make it clear, they neither allowed or knew of proselytary baptism, even in plainer words than any cited by Mr. Wall for his purpose. 5. And then utterly to invalidate all that is or can be said from the Jewish writings, I have shewn, by a great many passages taken from their best authors, and by the testimony of the greatest judges, that the rabbins in general are such proud, false, senseless, whimsical, scandalous writers, as can never be depended on in any case; which makes their authority the most despicable and insignificant in the world: and therefore the baptism grounded on this foundation can be only a senseless rabbinical tradition.

I have also considered the passage he cites from Arrian; and shewn, 1. That this is likewise not ancient enough. 2. That he may, for ought appears to the contrary, speak only of the washings for pollution, and not for proselytism. 3. That he very probably speaks only of the Christians, whom he confounded with the Jews in this, as he has undoubtedly done in other places: and thus several learned men have understood it.

And as to his next argument from Gregory Na-



zianzen, and other Fathers, I have shewn, 1. That their authority in this case signifies nothing, as being too late. 2. That they cannot well be understood to speak of any thing but the legal washings for uncleannesses : and therefore all Mr. Wall advances to prove his position, that the Jews in our Saviour's time used to baptize their proselytes, indeed proves nothing at all.

And after all this, to confirm, as far as a negative can be proved, that the Jews had no such custom as is pretended, I have shewn, 1. That the Scriptures make no mention in the least of any such baptism ; and that Exod. xix. 10, particularly, cannot be thought to do it. 2. That there is no instance or intimation of such baptism in any other authentic ancient history ; but, on the contrary, a total silence, when they not only had the fairest occasions, but also ought to have mentioned that custom, if they had known it. 3. That the pretence of the pædobaptists is very improbable. 4. That several considerable authors, especially the ancients, do in effect deny they knew of any initiatory baptism among the Jews ; and in their discourses on the Jewish ceremonies, never mention this as one. All which put together, I suppose, cannot well be thought any thing short of proving, the Jews had no such ceremony.

But besides all this, I have, from several other considerations, shewn, that though it could have been proved ever so certainly, that the Jews baptized their proselytes, this can do no service to the cause of pædobaptism : because, 1. It does not appear that their *infants* were admitted to that baptism. 2. Supposing proselytes and their children

were usually baptized by the Jews, it does not follow their baptism must be a rule for the practice of Christians; for according to the pædobaptists themselves, there is no manner of analogy between them.

3. Because our practice should rather be regulated by that of St. John and Christ, than by that of the Jews; and they, we are sure, as far as the Scripture can inform us, baptized no children. And lastly, because it is evident, that at most this supposed baptism is but a rabbinical tradition. For, 1. It is nowhere mentioned in the Scriptures. 2. The Jews themselves acknowledge it to be so; and the phrase of the Talmud in those very instances cited by our antagonists, even according to Maimonides' explication, imports, that it was neither instituted by Moses, nor can be concluded from any thing he writ, nor from any tradition from him, but is only founded in the lowest authority of the rabbins: and this leaven Christ has frequently enough cautioned us to beware of. And therefore, at last, from all it must follow, that the pretences our antagonists make, from the supposed Jewish practice and writings, can signify nothing to the support of pædobaptism.

III. And then, thirdly, as to the doctrine and practice of the ancient church, which Mr. Wall chiefly argues from; I have considered the first three centuries, and shewn, 1. in general, that their authority alone is not sufficient to bear the weight of infant-baptism, though they should be found to assert it universally. 2. Mr. Wall forbears to mention St. Barnabas, who has some passages inconsistent with pædobaptism. 3. St. Clemens Romanus, with whom our author begins, and who, he

says without any ground, speaks of original sin as affecting all mankind, does not however speak of infant-baptism, nor seem on any account whatever to have had it in his thoughts.

And whereas Mr. Wall argues, upon the supposition that St. Clemens esteems all persons tainted with original sin, that he likewise thought all ought to be baptized; I have observed, 1. That the premisses as well as the conclusion, are not St. Clement's, but Mr. Wall's only. 2. Or secondly, that at best, according to our author, this only shews what was St. Clement's judgment, and not what was the practice of the church. Now though the church in general had these speculations, it would not at all follow they ventured barely upon that account to practise accordingly. 3. That it is all grounded on that uncharitable error, that none can be saved without being baptized. 4. That baptism does not appear to have been administered so much for original, as for actual sins. And lastly, that it no more follows from that principle that the ancient church practised infant-baptism, than that all the anti-pædobaptists do so now; for they likewise hold the common notion of original sin.

IV. As to St. Hermas, Mr. Wall's next author, I have shewn, 1. That he speaks only of adult persons, who have heard and believe. 2. That he only describes visions, and therefore is not always to be taken literally. 3. That he cannot be thought to mean, that those he represents to have been baptized in their separate estate after death, were actually baptized with material water. 4. That if we should give our author his whole argument, it would

only prove Hermas was of opinion that infants shall be baptized in their separate state after death, which is nothing to our controversy.

In arguing from this Father, Mr. Wall compares some words of his with our Lord's saying, John iii. 5, *Except a man*, &c., which gives me occasion to examine the argument the pædobaptists draw from thence. And I have, I think, fully shewn, 1. That the words cannot be taken so universally, as to comprehend infants. 2. That by *kingdom of God* it is not necessary to understand the kingdom of glory. 3. That our Saviour's words refer only to adult persons, who have heard the word preached: 1. Because, such only can possibly comply with the institution. 2. Such only can be saved by baptism. 3. What is there said, cannot be true of any other. And lastly, something in the words themselves necessarily limits them to adult persons.

In the same manner Mr. Wall gives me occasion likewise to examine what may be urged from Matt. xix. 14, *Suffer little children*, &c. And I observe, 1. That the words have no relation to baptism at all. But, 2. that the children were only brought to be touched and blessed. 3. That this was probably in order to heal them, or the like; and could not be as Dr. Lightfoot and Dr. Whitby suppose, to 'own' them as belonging to his kingdom, nor to obtain 'for them some spiritual blessing appertaining to 'the kingdom of God.' 4. And lastly, that it does not follow from our Lord's saying, *Of such is the kingdom of heaven*, that there is, as Dr. Whitby asserts, any thing in little children why they should be brought to Christ, besides their being emblems of

humility; much less, that they are fit to be early dedicated to the service of God, &c., by the Christian baptism.

V. After he has done with St. Hermas, Mr. Wall comes next to St. Justin Martyr. The first passage he cites is only to shew, that he spake of original sin as affecting all mankind. But I shew, 1. That if it were so, this is nothing to infant-baptism. 2. That St. Justin cannot fairly be understood to speak of original sin at all. 3. That Mr. Wall has very much misrepresented him, and given a wrong translation of the words in favour of his assertion.

The next passage which, speaking of spiritual circumcision, says, 'some have received it. by baptism,' Mr. Wall thinks is as much as to say, children ought to be baptized as well as they were wont to be circumcised. But I have clearly shewn, 1. That St. Justin does not call baptism circumcision. 2. That he could not mean baptism by the spiritual circumcision he mentions, both from these words themselves, and several other passages in his writings, which sufficiently evidence what he understood to be the Christian spiritual circumcision.

Here, to strengthen his assertions, our author compares some words of St. Justin with Col. ii. 11, 12, where he supposes, St. Paul by the circumcision there spoken of, means baptism. In answer to which I observe, 1. That the Scriptures nowhere call baptism *circumcision*; but that purity of heart, &c., is frequently called so. 2. That the words in themselves are such as cannot admit of so absurd an acceptation. 3. That the ancients cannot be thought to have understood them so. 4. That be-

sides, if this were the meaning of St. Justin and St. Paul too, it does not follow, that the Jewish practice, in regard to circumcision under the law, must be our rule in regard to baptism now. For, 1. Infants were *commanded* to be circumcised then, but *are not commanded* to be baptized now. 2. Circumcision was to be on the eighth day precisely, which cannot be urged of baptism. 3. Females were not to be circumcised then, and therefore it would as well follow they must not be baptized now. 4. The apostles did not make circumcision their rule in relation to baptism.

The next passage Mr. Wall produces from St. Justin, notwithstanding his pretences, argues very strongly against infant-baptism; but he says he cites it only to shew, 1. What was the most ancient way of baptizing. Which observation I turn directly against the English pædobaptists particularly. 2. 'That the Christians of those times used 'the word *regeneration* for *baptism*.' But this observation I have shewn to be false, 1. from the words themselves; and, 2. from other passages in St. Justin. But the third thing for which Mr. Wall cites this passage of St. Justin is, because he pretends 'it shews they understood John iii. 5. of 'water-baptism, and concluded from it, that *none* 'can be saved without such baptism.' Which however it is plain cannot be St. Justin's meaning, for Mr. Wall himself allows St. Justin's words relate only to adult persons, and not to infants.

In the next, which is the last citation from this Father, our author makes him say, some were disciplined to Christ, that is, as he understands it, baptized *in their childhood*, even in the apostles' times.

But this sense I have shewn to be violently and wrongfully imposed upon St. Justin, by a very false and unfair translation of his words.

VI. After this comes St. Irenæus, who is the first, as Mr. Wall allows, that makes express mention of infant-baptism ; for he talks of ‘ infants, &c., being ‘ regenerated to God.’ And this is generally thought an unanswerable instance. But I have fully shewn, First, that upon several accounts nothing can be more probable than that the passage, and all the latter part of the chapter, is spurious. 1. Because it contradicts the beginning of it. 2. It is asserted, St. John and other apostles taught a very gross falsehood. 3. St. Irenæus could not but know the Lord’s age much more exactly than this part of the chapter makes him do : (1.) From the memorable things which attended his birth and sufferings. (2.) From his acquaintance with those who had conversed with the apostles. (3.) From the discourses then extant, to shew when the Messiah was to come and suffer. (4.) It appears even from St. Irenæus’ own writings, that he could not believe Christ was near so old as this passage makes him, for he fixes the time of his birth, and could not but know the time of his death: 1. By the famous event of the destruction of Jerusalem : 2. From Phlegon, who wrote but a little before him : 3. From computing the years of the emperors according to their common reckonings ; or particularly from Josephus. Secondly, this quotation is taken from a very corrupt translation only ; as is proved, 1. By the authority of learned men ; 2. By several instances wherein the translator appears to have changed, added to, or taken from, the sense of the original.

Besides this, I have shewn, that if the passage were genuine, and well translated, 1. It does not speak of baptism ; and that it is not true to assert, as Mr. Wall does, that the ancients always by *regenerate*, &c., mean *baptized* ; nay, I have proved by many instances, that they never mean so ; particularly that John iii. 5, and Titus iii. 5, cannot be so understood, and that St. Irenæus has not used the word so once in all his writings. 2. The place does not speak of infants in our common acceptation, of one or two years old, but comprehends all to ten years of age. From all which, I think, it necessarily follows, that nothing hitherto advanced by Mr. Wall can do the cause of pædobaptism any service.

VII. Next we come to Tertullian, who Mr. Wall says speaks of the necessity of baptism in such general terms as to reckon ‘ those that die unbaptized as ‘ lost men.’ But I have shewn, he says as much of the *necessity* of *faith*, &c., and therefore this observation is no argument against us. And as to his express mention of infant-baptism, when he opposes it, that does not necessarily argue, as our adversaries would have it, that it was commonly practised at that time, only that some were endeavouring to introduce it. Again, Tertullian does not, as Mr. Wall pretends, simply advise to defer the baptism of children, but argues against it from their unfitness, &c., as a thing which ought not to be done. And in other places he speaks of baptism in such terms as are utterly inconsistent with pædobaptism.

As to Tertullian’s application of 1 Cor. vii. 14, I have observed, 1. His sense of it is far from



favouring our antagonists. 2. Mr. Wall does not attempt to prove that Tertullian or any writer of the first three centuries understood the words to relate at all to baptism. Hence I take occasion to examine the pretences from St. Paul's words, and to state the true sense of them. Here I observe, 1. That all Mr. Wall's pains to prove *ἄγιος*, &c., mean *washed* or *baptized*, is to no purpose; for those words neither signify so here, or any where else. 2. That the most rational interpretation of the words is that which Mr. Wall so scornfully rejects, concerning legitimacy: which is proved, 1. Upon our author's own principles. 2. From the design and context. 3. It is confirmed by the practice and ways of speaking among the Jews and Christians.

VIII. To these succeeds Origen, from whom, I confess, Mr. Wall cites some plain passages to his purpose: but their whole force is taken off by observing, 1. That they are not cited from his Greek remains, but only from the Latin translations. 2. That these are very bad, and made with the greatest license in the world, as appears both from the judgment of learned men, and from several instances. 3. That though Mr. Wall says the contrary, St. Hierome, by his own confession, was not more faithful than Ruffinus. 4. That the translators have not taken a liberty with what related to those opinions only of Origen which were then disputed, as Mr. Wall objects. 5. That Ruffinus, whatever Mr. Wall pretends, has dealt as unfairly with the Commentary on the Romans, from whence the principal citation is taken, as he was used to do with others. So that nothing can be inferred from any of those citations out of Origen.

Thus I have followed Mr. Wall for about two hundred and fifty years, and shewn, I think, beyond all contradiction, that there is not the least colour in any thing yet advanced for infant-baptism within that period. St. Cyprian indeed, who comes next, and others after him, I acknowledge speak of it: but how far they allowed of it, or made it necessary, and in what cases &c., or how it came to be so universally received at last, it is not worth our while to inquire: for as the earliest times are much the most considerable and pure, what cannot be proved to have been taught or practised in them, we shall not be very forward to admit of now, barely upon the authority of the more corrupt centuries, when an infinite number of innovations and errors were introduced. It is enough for us that it cannot be proved Christ instituted this practice, or that the Scriptures justify it, or that for the first fifty years, or less, it was at all known: but since we are able to go so much further still, and have abundant ground to deny it was used till above two hundred years after Christ; and that, notwithstanding all the pains our adversaries have taken to prove the contrary, you see, sir, there is indeed nothing in whatever they advance which can in the least favour their opinion: can any thing be more just and necessary, than that we continue to think and act as formerly? Doubtless all impartial judges must give sentence in our favour. And for these reasons it was, I think, altogether needless to follow Mr. Wall any further; and therefore I have neglected all the rest of his history. And indeed, there was no manner of necessity for his carrying his account so far. If he had only proved infant-baptism was

practised in the first century, he might very well have spared the rest of his pains; for we should not then have disputed with him the practice of those who lived afterwards. But as matters stood, I must allow he was in the right of it, not to stop till he found infant-baptism fully settled; and therefore he runs on so far as St. Austin; for there is no author sooner who speaks so effectually to his purpose.

Before I conclude, sir, I must just take notice of one thing I remember you were used frequently to object, viz. That we are not able to assign the time when infant-baptism first commenced; and that it must seem mighty strange, and indeed improbable, to such as reflect upon the great piety and sincerity of the early centuries of the church, that an innovation of this nature should ever be in the least attempted; and much more that it should prevail so far, and be so generally owned and defended, and all so early as even we ourselves acknowledge it was. But, sir, I must beg you to consider,

1. That very many errors of as gross a kind were as soon started, and as generally received as the baptizing of infants: for the truth of this, I appeal to the Church histories, which abundantly make it appear, and all learned men acknowledge it. Monsieur Jurieu has given a catalogue of divers of them in his eighth and some following pastoral letters for the year 1686: and Monsieur du Pin has noted many alterations at the end of the first three and of the fourth centuries, in his Ecclesiastical History.

2. You are not to imagine this practice was established altogether, and at once, in as great a

latitude as it is at present. It began, doubtless, at first, as all other innovations do, with only some little variations in opinions, and then passed to as little in practice; and so by very short steps, at length attained unobserved the great reputation it has now indeed for a long time enjoyed. And all this might be done in a very short time, as I have often observed to you it happened in the manner of administering this sacrament here in England: for dipping was wholly laid aside, and sprinkling used in its stead, in less than half a century, (even as our adversaries themselves still confess,) though directly contrary to Christ's direction, to a decree of a synod under Kenwolfe, the express words of the Service-book, and without any allowance, &c.; and sure no alteration can be more bold than this is.

3. Lastly, that very piety and zeal you mention as a security against this innovation, in reality tended very much to betray them into it. It is true, it would hardly suffer them to lose any thing they had received, but it was not so inconsistent with their adding many things. And accordingly we see that from the very beginning it had this influence. Hence came the anointing the new-baptized, and giving them milk and honey to eat, &c., which are very early mentioned. It was the piety of the ancients that made them think and speak such high things of the sacramental supper, which by degrees brought them to speak of it as of a real sacrifice; and then they were continually talking of offerings and altars, &c. Upon this, others soon began to understand those expressions literally, and to attribute much to the power of the priest's

consecration, which easily led people to esteem the elements of a most holy nature after that ceremony: all which prepared them to understand our Lord's words, *This is my body*, in that very absurd sense many so strenuously plead for. And then the most pious dispositions, upon these mistakes, might well think the *mass* a meritorious and expiatory sacrifice, wherein the very body of Christ was not *offered up once for all*, but every day for the sins of the people: and all this must work them into the highest veneration for the transubstantiated wafer; and no wonder if at length they ran into the idolatrous adoration of it, and other fopperies, which naturally attend such extravagancies.

Much after the same manner infant-baptism seems plainly to have been introduced. They soon began to talk in very lofty hyperboles concerning the powerful effects and necessity of baptism: and at first indeed this was meant well enough; but as they did not foresee, so they did not very cautiously guard against future mistakes. The effects of it have been carried to that height, that it has been thought to save *ex opere operato*. And the necessity was very early improved so far as to be accounted absolute and indispensable: for several of the first Fathers do pretty plainly shew us, they thought that such as died without baptism could not be saved, or at least that their salvation was very doubtful. This indeed was at first meant only of such as had heard the word preached, as I have proved to you before; but afterwards came to be equally applied to all adult persons: and then, when from its being useful in order to salvation, they

had brought it to be so indispensably necessary, especially to some, this prepared them to mistake our Lord's words, John iii. 5, which they began to think expressly asserted, it was impossible for any of Adam's race to be saved without baptism: and upon this supposition no wonder if they were soon prevailed on, by their natural tenderness and affection, to secure the salvation of their beloved infants, which lie too near a parent's heart to be neglected in so weighty a point as that of their eternal felicity. And could it be made appear that this is the true sense of our Saviour's words, we should soon be brought to believe he intended infants should be baptized. It is not only probable that infant-baptism came in this way; but that this really was the case, must be plain enough to those who are acquainted with the writings of the Fathers. What I have said in several former letters, proves it in some measure; and if I had thought it needful, I would have taken some pains to have done it professedly, and more at large. But particularly, nothing can be plainer than that the misunderstanding the sense of John iii. 5. gave rise to the error: for the Fathers who speak of it, always deduce it from those words, and upon every pinch recur to them as their main retreat: and Mr. Wall confesses that they as well as himself looked upon this place as the chief ground of infant-baptism; and therefore it is pretty certain they had no better foundation for their practice, which most now see to be very sandy, and nothing but a mistake. So that this is not so hard as some fancy to be reconciled to the honesty and integrity of those pious men, who were doubtless liable to

mistakes as well as we. For thus in a case most exactly parallel, the same persons who introduced the baptizing of infants, were equally for admitting them immediately after that to the other sacrament likewise, and that upon just such another mistake of our Saviour's words too: for as they inferred the necessity of baptism from John iii. 5, so they did also that of the eucharist from John vi. 53. Thus St. Austin, from these very texts, at the same time argues for baptizing and communicating infants<sup>t</sup>. And this custom of communicating infants accompanied the baptizing them, even from the first rise of pædobaptism, for several hundred years together, as in the Greek church it does to this day. All which is so true and manifest, as to be pretty generally acknowledged. Dr. Taylor somewhat largely proves it, and frequently says the one is altogether as well grounded as the other<sup>u</sup>; and indeed earnestly pleads for the continuance of both. But seeing the church has thought fit to disuse one, no man can shew a reason why the other may not as well be laid aside, since it is not built on a better foundation.

Now, sir, I think to lay down my pen: for I hope I have sufficiently proved to you, that we have abundant reason to persist in our opinion; and that Mr. Wall has not so effectually done our business, as you at first believed. I recommend what I have

<sup>t</sup> De Peccator. Merit. et Remission. lib. i. cap. 20.

<sup>u</sup> Worthy Communicant, cap. ii. sect. 2. [See 'The Worthy Communicant,' by bishop Jeremy Taylor, 8<sup>o</sup>. 1674: or in the collection of his works.]

said to your serious perusal : and give me leave to put you in mind, that it is very dangerous to make too free with our Saviour's positive institutions, for which you must expect to account in the last day. Let it therefore be your diligent care to judge impartially, having no other aim but to glorify God and obey his truth : to whom I commit you.

I am, &c.



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